

# IN THESE TIMES

WHY IS THIS  
MAN ON TV?  
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75 CENTS

## Rumbling on the clerical assembly line.

*Women are fed up with  
low pay and boring work.  
But it may get worse  
before it gets better.*



*Illustration by Nicole Hollander for National Secretaries' Week.*

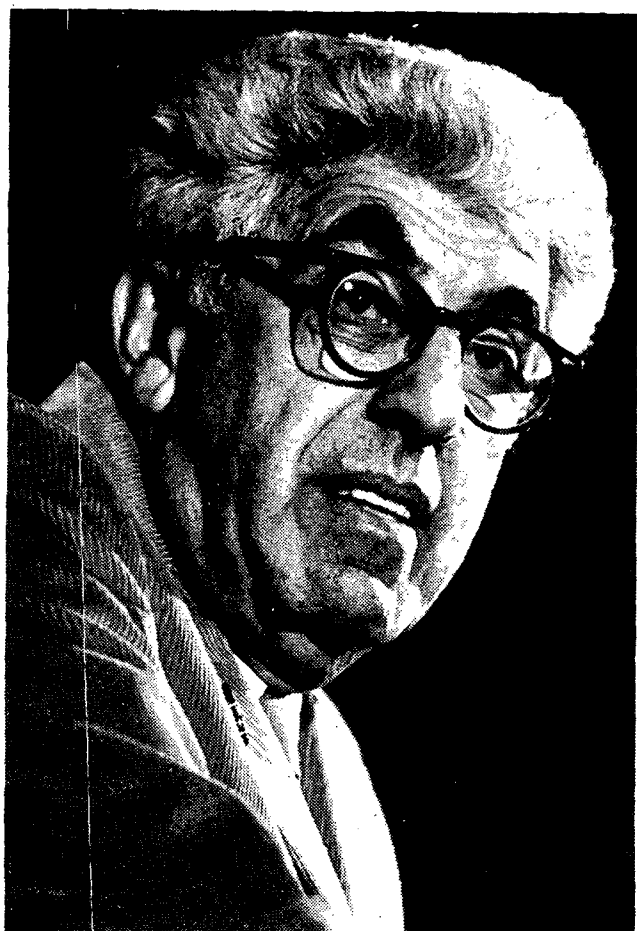


## *A Tree Grows in Cleveland*

*An inside report on the founding  
convention of the Citizens Party.  
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# THE INSIDE STORY



## An interview with Barry Commoner

By John Judis and David Moberg

Barry Commoner is the presidential candidate of the Citizens Party. The 62-year-old Commoner is a well-known scientist and environmentalist. His most recent books are *THE POLITICS OF ENERGY* and *THE POVERTY OF POWER*. He is presently University Professor of Environmental Science at Washington University in St. Louis. He was interviewed by *IN THESE TIMES* at the Citizens Party convention in Cleveland.

In a 30-second capsulized version, what is the basic message the Citizens Party wants to get across?

In 30 seconds, I would say that most people now realize that the Republicans and Democrats have nothing useful to tell us. We're the people that provide the alternative.

But people are looking for different sorts of alternatives. What is yours?

We are proposing ways to solve the fundamental problems. We see a root cause behind the pervasive problems that everyone is experiencing. When young people can't buy a house, when half of black teenagers can't get their first job, that's a qualitative thing. I think most people have begun to sense that we're not just experiencing bad times, but bad times that emerge from a fundamental difficulty that people haven't grappled with.

The fundamental difficulty is that the things that need to be done are beyond the reach of the things that can be done by private corporations. The decisions they make in the interests of maximizing their profits hurt the country, and they are unwilling to make the decisions that could help. For example, rebuilding the railroads. For example, producing alcohol fuels.

### Capitalism's faults.

Is it fair to say that the Citizens Party is bringing the issue of capitalism vs. socialism to light for the first time in many years?

I think we are bringing the issue of the faults of capitalism to light for the first time. In other words, the freedom to use capital solely for capitalist interests has now become something that hurts the country.

Would you describe your alternative as socialism?

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There, I think it is important to understand the distinction between what we are talking about and what we might define as scientific socialism—defined as public ownership and control of the means of production.

The Citizens Party has latched onto an idea that is going to be very powerful: social control. Why not say social ownership?

Let me take one extreme—the railroads. Social control means rebuilding the railroads. How do you do it? There's no way of rebuilding the railroads without owning them. Nobody else wants to own them. The reason why they are being ripped apart is that they are taking out the pieces that don't make a profit. So you say, we are for social control of the railroads, which means rebuilding the railroads, which means nationalizing them.

Now let's go to another example—the Youngstown steel plant. U.S. Steel has abandoned the plant. The steel union wants to take it over. The company is trying to block them. Our position is that there is a social governance issue there. What we're in favor of is that the workers should take the plant over, getting the necessary capital in the form of loan guarantees, etc.

Will we be in favor of public ownership of that plant? Hell no. Imagine going to the union and saying, "You want to buy that plant? Move over, the U.S. government is going to buy that plant." It's crazy, because what you have here is the ability to start a new social process of direct governance. This is not putting workers on the board of directors. This is a plant run by the workers with, when necessary, help from the federal government.

Now there are two lessons. One is that governance is the key thing. The second is that I don't think it makes any sense to decide what to do without looking at the specifics of a particular industry.

Would you keep some major private industries in private corporate hands?

It seems to me this is an evolutionary process. Suppose that we nationalize the railroads. Is there any need to nationalize the [railroad] car companies? To whom are they going to sell railroad cars?

Let's say for the sake of argument that it becomes in the national interest to build electric cars, and let's say, for the sake of argument, that Detroit says, "Uh uh, forget it." So we say, "Look, we have to build electric cars so we'll nationalize the car industry." But there's no need to nationalize the wheel industry.

But what about the automobile industry? Is nationalization on your agenda?

It seems to me you've got to be opportunistic about this. And the opportunity comes because we are in the midst of actual events that emerge from the breakdown of the productive system. And my sense of it is that we ought to take advantage of what is happening.

The steel thing is a great example. If U.S. Steel wants to get rid of 16 plants—great, we'll run them. And very quickly the center of gravity of the steel industry will shift.

In the auto industry, you have something very interesting going on. [Auto Workers president] Doug Fraser goes to Tokyo to convince the Japanese manufacturers to come here and build plants. I think it would have been much better for Doug Fraser to go to Washington and say, "Look, we have all our welfare funds, why don't we build things." Let the auto workers do it and establish a kind of standard.

Did you support the federal government giving Chrysler loan guarantees?

Yes, together with complete determination about

how they were used. Let them build stills for the farmers to produce gasohol. I think that was a major, major omission.

Do you support the steel industry's call for providing new capital through more rapid depreciation of plant or equipment—through tax subsidies?

I am against giving them any break while they retain the right to make their own decisions in investing that capital.

### Stopping inflation.

Let's say you were in the White House. What would you do to stop the 20 percent inflation?

Inflation basically means a reduction in the efficiency of the productive process. It's really a question of overall productivity.

Let's look at the array of new productive opportunities that would elevate our overall productivity. Like the railroads. It is the most efficient way to use capital, labor and energy for a whole series of things. It raises productivity. Great, let's rebuild the railroads.

The same way—the solar plan we've developed for agriculture is a way of improving the productivity of agriculture because you can produce both food and fuel in very significant amounts. If national policy is to do that, it will stabilize the price of gasoline, and it acts at the very fundamental level of productivity.

Let me give you some opposite examples. Why don't we look at our investments that are least productive—the military. And, boy, one of the things we are going to do heavily is to show the connections between military expenditures and inflation. You know the story: you put capital into producing a tank and it produces nothing.

You're for reducing military spending?

Absolutely, and I think we're going to get a response not simply from consumers, but also from business.

Are you opposed to a wage-price freeze?

Well, I think that is a temporary bandaid. I think it has to be absolutely linked to the fundamental step. Kennedy says, "We'll put in a freeze," but then what is he going to do?

That's when he would offer tax depreciation to provide capital for investment.

Yes, that's the corporate approach. In the *Poverty of Power*, I quote a whole series of bankers who said we want to cut savings, cut the standard of living, and accumulate capital. Our approach is quite different. We're talking right on the level of productive instrumentalities, not at the level of economic, fiscal manipulation.

### Iran and Afghanistan.

What do you think of the Carter doctrine?

On this question of the Mideast, we have to ask why we are in this mess. First, it's clear the Carter doctrine is a phoney, a conceit. Carter wasn't responding to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan when he said he would defend the oil fields with force, but to Kennedy's invasion of New England. Nine months earlier [Secretary of Defense Harold] Brown had said exactly the same thing when he came back from Saudi Arabia. In other words, it was a political ploy.

The other thing about it is that it is dumb. Nobody is ever going to defend oil fields. They are terribly vulnerable to anything from a saboteur to a missile.

What about the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan? Should Carter have made any response to it?

I think the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a reflection of our poor political posture in the Mideast,

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### EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor; John Judis, David Moberg, Associate Editors; Lee Aitken, Managing Editor; Patricia Aufderheide, Cultural Editor; James Livingston, Editorials; Mark Naison, Sports; Diana Johnstone, (Paris); David Mandel (Jerusalem); Chris Mullin (London); Bruce Vander-vort (Geneva), Foreign Correspondents.

### BUREAUS

BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617) 738-9707.  
DENVER: Timothy Lange, P.O. Box 6159, Denver, CO 80206, (303) 322-5315.  
NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638.

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IN THESE TIMES

# Citizens launch "second party"

By John Judds and David Moberg

CLEVELAND, OHIO

THE CONVENTION OPENED with a taped version of a familiar anthem—"America the Beautiful"—sung in an unfamiliar fashion by blues singer Ray Charles. It was an appropriate theme for the founding meeting of the Citizens Party, which, author Studs Terkel, said in his keynote speech, vows to "redem the American dream from the predators who have stolen it."

In an intriguing weekend in Cleveland April 11-13, 251 delegates adopted a party platform and nominated Barry Commoner and La Donna Harris as their presidential and vice-presidential ticket.

At the convention, delegates frequently noted the recent poll showing that 58 percent of American voters are dissatisfied with the choices of Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. If they are the major party candidates, then the Citizens Party will probably be able to play a visible role in the election and may even be able to pick up the 5 percent of the vote they need to qualify retroactively for federal election funds.

The strengths of the party are apparent. Commoner, who is known primarily as a foe of nuclear energy, has a remarkable ability to explain difficult ideas to a wide audience. Harris, the wife of former senator and presidential aspirant Fred Harris, is an American Indian activist. She will help the party's following among women and minorities and also among populist Democrats, who rallied to her husband's 1976 campaign.

The party's principal ideas, articulated largely by Commoner and economists Jeff Faux and Gar Alperovitz, emphasize the need for a democratic alternative to corporate power. Where in the past such an alternative has been presented abstractly or in terms of bureaucratic takeovers, the Citizens Party stresses a decentralized system of production with a maximum of worker and community control. It presents popular control of energy and transportation rather than federal tax breaks or loan credits as the only means of reinvigorating American industry. It stands for the solar transition as the only viable option to the risk of planetary holocaust.

Its strategy from the beginning has been to establish itself as a "second" party—to the peculiar party that the Citizen Party members call the "Republiocrats"—not as a "third" party. To this end, it has eschewed both left-wing labels and the usual assumption of left-wing electoral parties that elections are secondary to some other activity—community organizing, building unions, or preparing for armed insurrection. "This group is neither right nor left," former foundation executive and party founder Archibald Gilles said, "It's mainstream. It's just a little further downstream."

The party has also done a remarkable job of organizing, given the tremendous limitations it has been operating under. With Senator Edward Kennedy, the choice of many potential Citizens Party partisans, still in the race, the party was nevertheless able to assemble a membership of 6,000 prior to the convention and functioning organizations in 30 states. Among the individuals recruited to the party were some like Chicago political consultant Don Rose and East Harlem Democrat Yolanda Sanchez, people with considerable political background and clout. Among the organizations was the 6,000-member Consumers Party of Philadelphia, whose membership is 70 percent black and whose mayoral candidate, Lucien Blackwell, won a majority of the black vote in last year's election.

But the party also faces formidable obstacles to its success in the fall. The



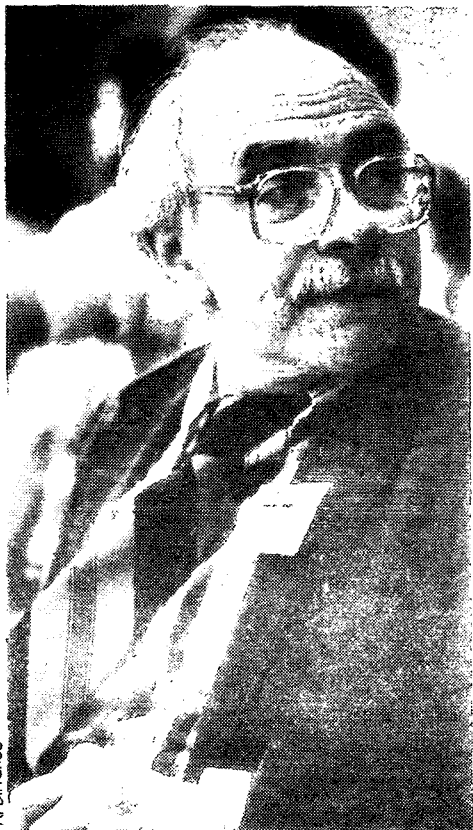
The 1980 Citizens Party candidates Barry Commoner and La Donna Harris.

most important is outside the party's control—the slim possibility that Senator Edward Kennedy could win the Democratic nomination and the more likely possibility that Representative John Anderson will run an independent race. While Anderson's race would legitimate third-party candidacies, it would also deprive the Citizens Party of a moderate protest vote and of much of its potential middle-class base.

Another obstacle emanates, however, from the party itself. As was apparent at its founding convention, the Citizens Party, no less than other past left efforts, is prey to destructive factional struggles that could divert it from its central purpose and destroy its potential. The founding convention did not wreck the party, but it certainly didn't aid its development.

## Faction fighting.

The faction fighting in the Citizens Party began several months before the convention when civil rights lawyer Arthur Kinoy, Marilyn Clement of the Center for Constitutional Rights, and Lucius Walker of the Interfaith Coalition of Community Organizations joined the party's leadership (ITT, Apr. 2). Kinoy, Clement and Walker emphasized a dual strategy of waging a presidential cam-



Arthur Kinoy.

paign and leading local coalition efforts around immediate issues.

Commoner, businessman Stanley Weiss, staff member Burt DeLeeuw and others opposed the Kinoy proposals as a threat to the campaign's viability and as an invitation for the Citizens Party to become a coalition of the kind of marginal left organizations that Kinoy's minuscule Mass Party of the People and People's Alliance had been populated with.

At the convention, the Kinoy faction muted their political disagreements over the importance of the national campaign. Instead, they challenged Commoner's single-minded anti-corporate thrust, which they believe would make it more difficult for the Citizens Party to reach what Walker described as the "oppressed and hurting." "No political party is worth my time if it doesn't reach out to the people who are oppressed and hurting," Walker said in an interview at the convention. "By and large, you'll find these people in community organizations."

While it was hard to get Kinoy or Walker to spell out their position, they seemed to favor an issues-campaign that would be closely linked to various left groups in the minority and white communities.

Instead of taking their political differences with the Kinoy faction to the convention floor, Commoner, Weiss and DeLeeuw tried to keep Kinoy, Walker and Clement off the elected party leadership by threats and backroom conniving. This mode of operation further angered the Kinoy faction and created resentment toward Commoner among many delegates who had come to the convention unaware of the factional struggles and unfamiliar with the political differences.

But the Kinoy faction—possibly against Kinoy's own wishes—did its part to abort the founding convention. After the convention had formally adjourned, with about half the delegates departed (including the predominantly black, pro-Commoner Consumers Party delegation), Denise Carty-Bennia, who had been elected party co-chair on a Kinoy slate, announced her resignation. Carty-Bennia was resigning, she said, because the delegates had not elected Lucius Walker to the party's leadership.

There were disagreements among blacks, as well as among whites and Hispanics, about Walker's candidacy. While some doubts focused on Walker's

politics, more focused on his political reliability. Several delegates complained that Walker had not performed his past responsibilities as a party leader. And others, perhaps on the basis of Walker's controversial past, claimed they simply didn't trust him. In spite of this, Carty-Bennia attributed Walker's defeat to "rank racism."

Dan Leahy, another defeated candidate on the Kinoy leadership slate, reconvened the convention after a hurried and by no means unanimous voice vote. The remaining delegates then spent a ragged and inconclusive three hours debating what to do about Carty-Bennia's resignation.

While the delegates from the respective factions left the convention bitter and angry, the uncommitted and often politically inexperienced delegates left confused. "It reminds me of the same old political process," Atlanta delegate Janet Lowe complained. "All this faction fighting—it is like having to choose between a Carter and a Reagan."

Besides making it impossible to energize and educate its delegates, the faction fighting also impeded two other functions of the convention: to impress observers from interested organizations with the party's promise and to gain favorable publicity for the party's candidates with the national media. One observer representing several important citizen action groups left the convention saying that he would recommend a "hands off" attitude. And NBC's *Today* show on Monday morning highlighted Carty-Bennia's walkout.

## Campaign strategy.

If the Citizens Party were a traditional left organization that survived on the strength of the collective zeal of a stagnant membership, a convention like the Cleveland one could wreck it. But the Citizens Party is presently riding a historical wave much greater than its present membership or leadership. Regardless of the convention, it could grow rapidly in the next few months.

The debate that underlay the convention's factional fight could easily pop up again—perhaps with the same participants—as the campaign gains momentum. It could re-emerge as disagreement over the essential task of integrating recruits from the Kennedy, Brown or Anderson campaigns into the party's staff and leadership. Or it could re-emerge over the question of campaign strategy.

Continued on page 6



# INSHORT



Teaching assistants at the University of Wisconsin have been on strike since April 2.

•Ford and General Motors last week announced more layoffs at plants around the nation and in Canada. With 162,350 auto workers already on indefinite layoff at the Big Four and nearly 342,000 workers on temporary furloughs, Ford said it planned to cut 15,000 jobs by the end of the year at Mahwah, N.J., Detroit's Rouge complex, and engine-casting plant at Windsor, Canada, and other locations. The move was coupled with reports from Cleveland that much of the company's massive engine plant and foundry operation may be moved to Mexico.

At General Motors, officials said they'd lay off 12,000 workers by year's end at shifts in assembly plants at Janesville, Wisc., Norwood and Lordsburg, Ohio, Detroit, and Leeds, Mo.

More than 20,000 auto workers are now on indefinite layoff in Canada, including employees of independent parts makers.

United Auto Workers spokesperson Karl Mantyla told IN THESE TIMES the layoffs are in part the result of long-range marketing studies. The Ford move from Cleveland to Mexico, however, was a separate issue and was learned of from internal Ford memos released by Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-O.), Mantyla said. The announcement came on the heels of fears of plant shutdowns or layoffs at Ford Canadian operations at Windsor and Oakville, Ontario.

•Speaking of Ford memos, the June issue of *Mother Jones* magazine will cite more Ford memoranda on auto safety, this time allegedly covering up known defects in 1964-1979 truck and car automatic transmissions that it says have claimed 70 lives.

The Transportation Department's National Highway Traffic Safety Administration has been investigating the transmission problem for about three years and officials say they may be within weeks of deciding whether to recall as many as 26 million affected Ford vehicles. The transmissions could slip from

"park" to "reverse" and have caused about 3,300 accidents and 1,100 injuries, *Mother Jones* said.

The magazine's spotlighting of exploding gasoline tanks on Ford Pintos and the subsequent government investigation resulted in the 1978 recall of 1.5 million cars.

Fresh from what Ford is calling satisfaction in its win in a criminal trial over the Pinto in Indiana, Ford blasted *Mother Jones*, Ralph Nader and Center for Auto Safety director Clarence Ditlow after their recent demands in Washington to take the vehicles with faulty transmissions off the streets immediately.

Ford claims the consumer criticism is "on behalf of a magazine trying to peddle a story and is being orchestrated by the same self-serving group that has consistently ignored the real cause of automobile deaths and injuries"—which Ford says is driver carelessness. It called the story an "irresponsible and mischievous attempt to generate public hysteria."

•In a related measure, Chrysler Corp. last week reached an agreement with the Federal Trade Commission to pay owners of its 1976 and 1977 Plymouth Volares and Dodge Aspens an average of \$225 to fix rusting front fenders. Improper designing by Chrysler is blamed for water and salt being trapped under sheet metal and rusting out the fenders regardless of owner care.

•In Cuba, some of the thousands of persons who took over the Peruvian embassy in a bid to leave the island nation have been criticized by the Castro government for being gay.

The *Miami Herald* reported a verbal attack on homosexuals at the embassy by Fidel Castro in a broadcast speech. And Carlos Todd, a member of the San Francisco bay area Gay Latino-Latina Alliance, told IN THESE TIMES he heard broadcasts blasting homosexuals said to be in the takeover group during his recent visit to Cuba.

Todd added, however, that after spon-

taneous street demonstrations against the takeover and killing of a guard failed to address the gay issue, the government criticism of gays stopped.

"Like everywhere else, gays are mostly in the closet here," Todd said in comment on Cuban laws against gay membership in the Communist Party and gays becoming school teachers.

He estimated the number of gays at the embassy to be about 2 percent of the total number and said that in addition to some "common criminals" as the Cuban government has charged, the group included "party members and military people."

•Five of the nation's top labor leaders were to speak in Chicago this week in an effort to get the Equal Rights Amendment ratified in Illinois.

AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland, United Autoworkers president Douglas Fraser, United Mineworkers president Sam Church, Coalition of Labor Union Women Joyce Miller, and Ray Schoessling, the general secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters union, will be part of what the National Organization for Women (NOW) calls its biggest push for ERA to date.

NOW president Eleanor Smeal says bread and butter issues will be stressed at the scheduled April 26 labor conference at Chicago's Plumbers union hall.

Illinois is one of the three states needed for ERA's passage. To date, 35 states have ratified ERA.

•The Italian town of Seveso, which used to be the home of 17,000 people, is still fenced off to residents after a 1976 chemical plant explosion that dumped poisonous clouds of the chemical dioxin into the air. Now, according to Zodiac News Service, the Swiss-based chemical company Givaudan has agreed to pay \$114 million in damages to the 600 acre area.

Besides the quick deaths of about 40,000 of Seveso's animals, dozens of women had abortions rather than risk delivering deformed babies. And 300 children developed various illnesses including swollen livers and skin diseases.

Dioxin, a component of the herbicide agent orange, 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T has also been found to cause cancer.

•In southern Oregon, 14 members of the anti-herbicide Applegate Occupation Team say they were deliberately sprayed with a mixture of 2,4-D earlier this month while staging a sit-in to protest aerial spraying of the dioxin compound in their community by a federal Bureau of Land Management private contractor.

Jechoniah, a spokesperson for the anti-herbicide group, told IN THESE TIMES, "Factually, we can't disprove the helicopter sprayer's claim that they didn't see us, but they'd have to be deaf, dumb and blind not to."

He said the group occupies forest areas to try to block spraying of the herbicide as well as doing labor-intensive cultivation of tree crops as an alternative to using chemicals.

"I've lived in the woods for years," he said, adding that "the forests got to be tall without using herbicides."

He said the immediate effects of the chemical include headaches, nausea and prevention of the healing of sores. "I hope we don't end up like the guys in Vietnam who got sprayed with the same kind of stuff. But we're going to stay here and continue to fight it," he said.

•University of Wisconsin teaching assistants are on strike at the school's Madison, Wisc., campus, pressing for binding arbitration on grievances as well as limits on class sizes, hiring criteria reevaluation, remedial writing classes for undergrads and payment to all graduate students who perform teaching assistance work.

Since the start of the April 1 strike, the Teaching Assistants Association, affiliated with the American Federation of

Teachers, has gained the support of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, who are staging a slowdown, and local Teamsters who refuse to cross TA picket lines.

The 11-year-old union has been trying to get a contract from the university for about a year.

•Caps and gowns are not in good taste this year at college commencement exercises being boycotted and picketed by International Ladies Garment Union (ILGWU) activists around the nation.

They're protesting "sweat shop" conditions for cap and gown seamers at Cottrell and Leonard in Albany, N.Y.

ILGWU New York state district education director Michael Winston told IN THESE TIMES "in the garment industry, we don't throw the term 'sweat shop' around loosely" and cited minimum wages paid to the company's 90 workers, roof leaks remedied by telling employees to bring an umbrella and other complaints from the National Labor Relations Board.

The manufacturers of high quality hand sewn graduation garb rentals, Cottrell and Leonard was struck Aug. 8.

Schools either supporting the boycott by not renting from the company or offering alternatives to students include Tufts University, Swathmore College, Brandeis and Princeton, Winston said.

•Several hundred Youth International Party activists were in New York last week to plan guerrilla theater and civil disobedience at the upcoming Democratic and GOP national conventions. Meanwhile in Berkeley, Calif., University of California students loosely organized as the "Ronald Reagan for Shah Committee" held tongue-in-cheek teach-ins in support of groups such as "Mutants for a Radioactive Environment" and the "National Grenade Owners Association."

Asked if serious political activists should consider the Yippie approach, spokesperson Dana Beal told IN THESE TIMES, "We welcome any groups who are serious about stopping President Carter with their bodies."

He said in addition to blocking doorways, marijuana smoke-ins and concerts organized by Rock Against Racism, there would be participation by anti-nuclear groups.



A Yippie demonstrator in New York.

The Yippies have not experienced any trouble in obtaining parade permits this year, Beal said.

The Youth International Party's New York organizers can be contacted at Box 392, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10012. Their telephone number is (212)533-5028.

•On the subject of pro-nuclear information...the chances for a volcanic eruption at Oregon's Mount St. Helens are "very remote" since "Mount St. Helens is considered dormant."

That's not the latest report on the condition of the smoke and ash-spewing tourist trap, but a five-year-old government and industry backed study used by the Portland, Ore., General Electric utility company to support its claim that there was little risk in siting its Trojan nuclear generator about 35 miles east of the earthquake-rocked volcano.



# IN THE NATION

## NUCLEAR POWER

# Radiation victims come together in a public forum



Widow Betty Fronterhouse with her son Gordon.

By Mike Jendrzeczyk and Pam Solo

WASHINGTON

**"T**HE CONSPIRACY OF silence must be broken," said a woman who delivered deformed children as a result of exposure to X-rays during pregnancy. She expressed the frustration and rage of nearly 100 radiation victims from 40 states who gathered in Washington, D.C., on April 11 for the Citizens' Hearings for Radiation Victims. The hearings were convened by national organizations and concerned individuals to dramatize the human costs of nuclear technology over the past 35 years. Those attending represented but a small fraction of the estimated hundreds of thousands of U.S. citizens who have suffered radiation exposure. Two people scheduled to testify died before the hearings took place.

An entire day of testimony on Saturday punctuated by outbursts of anger, quiet pleas of desperation, and accounts of deep personal suffering—amounted to an indictment of government nuclear policies, past and present.

Preston Truman, a resident of southern Utah suffering from lymph node cancer, explained how those living in the path of weapons testing fallout feel they were used as "guinea pigs." "What feeling of betrayal was echoed by nearly every person who testified—the residents living downwind of nuclear facilities, the veterans of atomic testing, Navajo uranium miners and their widows, and Micronesians (who sent a team from the South Pacific). Truman captured the sense of outrage at the government's indifference toward their plight: "We bury the dead—they don't."

Betty Fronterhouse's husband was involved in nuclear weapons tests and subsequently died of cancer. Three of her children have suffered severe genetic damage. She now fears that her grandchildren will soon begin to show symptoms of ill health effects. As the pain she has experienced came to the surface and caught in her voice, she was unable to finish her testimony. Her loss of words spoke more eloquently than any words she might have chosen.

Clara Harding and her daughter, Martha Harding Allis, came from Padukah, Ky., to fulfill the final wish of Joseph Harding, who worked for 18 and a half

years at the uranium enrichment plant there. Joe participated in a press conference announcing the hearings last fall; he died on March 1. Union Carbide, which manages the Department of Energy facility, continues to withhold medical files from Joe's family. Clara Harding, his widow, and Miriam Karkanen, widow of a Rocky Flats worker, detailed their common frustrations, having struggled for months to gain access to exposure records and tissue samples.

A delegation of workers from the Nevada Test Site—exposed by both the early atmospheric tests and continuing underground bomb detonations—was led by Benny Levy, who worked at NTS for 25 years. Waving death certificates for over 90 fellow workers in the air, he declared, "We've just started to identify these people, and we've just started to organize. We won't stop until we get justice."

The final witness, Susan Shetrom, articulated the feelings expressed by many of those who spoke before her. She described her transformation from a "typically conservative" school teacher living near Three Mile Island to an unwilling activist who opposes the government's and the nuclear industry's "random murder."

"I know people who have great, almost uncontrollable anger. Some have sought psychiatric help. And others have required medical attention because of the physical effects of trauma," she said. "Our children are unhappy and afraid. They have nightmares, cry frequently, and want to be held constantly. Their sense of security has been shattered."

The panel hearing the testimony was chaired by Everett Mendelsohn, professor of the history of science at Harvard University, and included Karl Z. Morgan, Robert J. Lifton, and citizens representing the range of people placed at



Clara Harding and her daughter Martha Harding Allis, with photos of Joe Harding, who helped organize the Citizens Hearings before his death on March 1.

risk by radiation exposure. A report prepared by the panel was delivered by a delegation to the White House on Monday. During a 90-minute meeting with Frank White of President Carter's Domestic Policy Council, recommendations were presented for just and uniform compensation systems and independent research on radiation effects. There was a call for a reexamination of the trade-offs between "national security" interests and human health.

The White House meeting erupted into an emotional confrontation. "We are dying," said Elizabeth Catalon of Salt Lake City. "It's immoral what the government is doing, spending \$3.6 million to drain rainwater out of bomb craters, while mothers in Utah are having children born deaf, with no eyes. Yet no

money has been allocated for medical clinics to help them."

Participants in the hearings overcame their feelings of loneliness and alienation, realizing that their personal tragedies contain the seeds of a potent political movement. The hearings concluded with a call to labor, religious groups, scientists, legal and medical professionals to lend their support and assistance to the ongoing effort. Others suffering from radiation-induced problems were encouraged to come forward, now that the silence has been broken.

Mike Jendrzeczyk and Pam Solo, who coordinate the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Project of the American Friends Service Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, were among the initiators of the Citizens Hearings.

## UNIONS

# Union wins modest gains in Steel talks

By David Moberg

PITTSBURGH

**T**HERE WAS "SOMETHING FOR everyone" in the new steel contract covering the nine major steel companies and setting the pattern for the industry. Judicious distribution of benefits substantially improved pensions for current retirees and gave an average steelworker an 8.8 percent wage increase, not counting cost-of-living adjustments, over the three-year contract.

This "best political contract ever made," as one union officer called it, also stopped short potential disgruntlement over the failure of the union to make serious progress on its stated intentions to insure job security and protect workers against plant shutdowns, to shorten the work week, or to strengthen workers' rights under the grievance procedures and in safety disputes.

Delegates to the basic steel industry conference representing 286,000 workers approved the contract 333 to 42 on April 15, shortly after the deadline for sending unresolved national issues to arbitration.

A strike was ruled out by the terms of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which guaranteed annual wage increases of 3 percent and a \$150 bonus. The continuation of the ENA, first employed in 1974, was left open as the contract was ratified. There was considerable speculation that the traditional joint union-industry press conference after the contract ratification was abruptly cancelled this year because of lingering disputes between the union and the coordinated steel companies over the ENA.

The steel corporations have recently complained that the ENA was too expensive, since productivity in the steel industry has not increased rapidly in the past decade. Leaders of the union want very much to continue ENA, although a strong bloc of rank and file steelworkers have criticized it over the years. In the past few months industry representatives have hinted that they might not continue the ENA if the union didn't make some concessions. Such concessions, some union officials speculated, could involve active union support for the political aims of the industry, especially tax breaks through accelerated depreciation that would give the companies several billions

of dollars of investment funds.

The top priority for the Steelworkers union was pension improvement, especially for current retirees, and the demand was widely supported even by young workers. Like the United Auto Workers, who also stressed cost-of-living improvements for pensioners last fall, the Steelworkers financed the increased benefits by diverting the cost-of-living payment due active workers on May 1 of this year to boost existing pensions by amounts ranging from 10 percent (for recent retirees) to as much as 70 percent (for those who retired before mid-1966).

Active workers are guaranteed 60 cents in pay increases spread over the three years, but they will also receive increases in the differentials between job categories that will benefit skilled workers most. This was designed to placate senior workers in the higher classifications who were thought to be unhappy with the gradual compression of pay differences brought about by contracts figured across the board in cents per hour. For a worker in an average job class, the pay increase over the contract would be 84

Continued on page 6.



# Barry

Continued from page 2.

which comes about because we have a well-deserved reputation as being the defender and supporter of despotic monarchs. I think the key thing is to publish the record of our intervention in Iran. That is absolutely essential, and it is what the Iranian people want.

*In other words, you favor making a sort of apology?*

I'll tell you, to get them out, I would even settle for Carter not making an apology, for him saying, "Well, I didn't do it, somebody else did," although it may be that he has got a lot to apologize for.

*But do you approve of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan?*

I think it is totally unjustified, and I think it should have reminded us that we ought to change our foreign policy forthwith so that the Soviet Union doesn't have the political excuse to do that sort of thing.

*Do you favor any steps to dislodge them?*

I would do it by setting an example. I would do it by saying that we recognize the error of our ways and we're going to back out of support for the Saudi Arabian despotic monarchy.

*Looking at the world picture, do you see a Soviet military threat that might justify a defense buildup?*

I think one of the really sad things that has happened is that we have allowed people to forget the facts about nuclear war. In the '50s, we were really getting across to people that nuclear war was not a way of addressing conflicts. I think we need a big revival of that.

*Do you think there is a military imbalance?*

I think the question is how to avoid anybody shooting off nuclear weapons. I think the first thing to do is to start openly discussing the facts about the consequences of nuclear war, then I think we have to take some dramatic step on a world scale. For example, the U.S. is holding all these conferences. I think there ought to be an extraordinary UN conference that would lay out all the horrors, and then say, "What are you going to do about it?"

*Do you favor unilateral disarmament measures by the U.S.?*

I don't think that would be as effective as a very heavy exposure to the facts, and then a dramatic world appeal to ourselves, so to speak.

Simultaneously, I would cut the military budget. For example, I would stop production of nuclear weapons.

*You wouldn't build the Trident or Cruise missiles or MX?*

Absolutely not. I think we have to kill

this idea.

*So you wouldn't pledge American forces in defense of West Germany or, let's say, Israel?*

I don't think we ought to make the commitment. What that does is put the most powerful military force into play. What it says to the world is, "This is the way we do it." Well, if we do it, somebody else will do it.

There needs to be a policy of decreasing the military force, beginning by decreasing to use or deploy it on paper, by not offering to engage our military force in foreign situations. I think we should stop it.

*Much of the present membership of the Citizens Party could be described as white middle class. In the election, do you think you will be able to attract blue-collar workers and minorities?*

I think it is clear that the people who suffer most from the failure of American social and economic policy have to be represented by the Citizens Party. I think we have to become a party that blacks recognize is able and prepared to represent their interests. I also think the same is true of labor, and of women and of anti-nuclear people.

Now clearly in the case of blacks and women, we start off at a disadvantage. There isn't any question about that. When white middle-class males engage in this kind of activity, there is at least suspicion.

What do you do? I say you have to

win their allegiance.

*In comparing you to John Anderson, one Citizen Party member remarked that while Anderson is strong on social issues, but weak on economic issues, but would mute the social issues—you wouldn't get involved in debates over abortion or gun control. Is that true?*

I have already been involved. I got a call from a guy who is writing an article for the magazine of the Cleveland archdiocese, and he wanted to know where I stood, and I said, "I'm pro-choice."

That's a canard. You know why it comes about: I talk about these relations, and I don't put my heart on my sleeve and say oppression of minorities is terrible and weep for them and say nothing else. What the Citizens Party can do for blacks most of all is to show the source of oppression and to fight it.

*Won't Anderson take away much of your base if he runs as a third-party candidate?*

Anderson is going to run as an independent in order to rehabilitate the Republican Party, and I think there are some independents who don't want to rehabilitate the Republican Party. The other thing is, I don't think he is going to stand up well under competition with us.

If Anderson does decide to run, there will emerge something that will be called the battle of the independents, and it will be something the media will be interested in. We'll be debating each other, and I think the Citizens Party position will

show up the superficiality of Anderson's positions.

Who is Anderson? His positions are almost point-by-point like Carter before he was elected. That's who he is—he's an unelected Carter.

*If Anderson doesn't run, and it is you, Carter, and Reagan, how are you going to avoid being cast by the Carter people into a spoiler role?*

Let's say I am a voter interested in peace, and I am confronted by the choice of Carter and Reagan. What's my attitude? I think the only fair thing to say is that both of these guys are risky as proponents of peace. So what do I do? How do I use my vote effectively to promote peace? If I cast it for Carter or Reagan, that vote is not a vote for peace. I'm throwing it away. And there is only one way not to throw my vote away, and that is to vote for the peace candidate, which I hope will be me.

Take an anti-nuclear vote. Again, the same story. They are both untrustworthy on that. I can choose which one is less untrustworthy, but then my vote is lost. The only way to make it known is to vote for the Citizens Party.

Since we are a party and not a one-shot candidacy, whoever is elected will know that in the next congressional elections these people are going to come back to haunt them. I think that is the way to stay the hand of whoever is elected: to create a constituency that exists. If there is no alternative, then the constituency disappears politically.

## Steel

Continued from page 5.

cents or 8.8 percent. The package falls within the range of recent major union contracts and will probably be safely under the revised pay guidelines.

The Steelworkers did not succeed, as the auto workers did, in revising the formula for calculating cost-of-living adjustments so that workers would be more fully protected from inflation's erosion of their real income. Nevertheless, assuming 11 percent inflation, the basic wage rate of an average steelworker would increase \$3.44 over the contract, or 36 percent, from \$9.41 to \$12.85. Workers will also enjoy higher shift payments for night work, improved supplementary unemployment benefits and sickness and accident pay, and higher pensions when they retire.

### Holding the line.

The union managed to hold the line against two major company take-away demands: lopping off some 12,000 workers who are covered by the basic steel contract but are not directly in the industry and eliminating traditional craft categories of work in favor of more versatile "supercrafts." But in exchange for a pilot program to examine the sub-contracting of maintenance work that the union opposes, the Steelworkers agreed to consider "any restrictive practices or seniority restraints at the pilot plant which limit effective utilization of bargaining unit employees." Local unions may be persuaded to revise traditional crafts in exchange for higher incentive pay or under threat of plant closings.

A new experiment with "labor-management participation teams" at the option of local unions and plant managers could lead to improved work conditions and more union involvement in shop floor issues to beef up discipline. An earlier experiment with local productivity committees along similar lines foundered alternately because of union and management opposition.

Following a disaster at the Indiana Harbor Jones and Laughlin steel mill last year, when six workers died of carbon monoxide poisoning, there was renewed urgency to deal with the long-standing dangers of the poisonous byproduct of blast furnaces and basic oxygen furnaces, especially since the problems may be on the rise as a result of technological changes in the industry. The contract calls for comprehensive engineering surveys for CO leaks and provision of corrections.

Despite equally pressing worries about

plant shutdowns, the union did not win any of its strong proposals, such as prohibiting closings during the life of a contract. The sole improvement was a requirement of a 90-day notice of the company's intention to close a factory.

There were also dollops of grease for some "squeaking wheels"—an hourly bonus and some income protection for office and technical workers and an incentive pay plan equal to basic steel for the iron ore miners who were on strike in 1977 for 138 days over local, incentive issues. Although many local issues remain unresolved this year, especially in some Chicago and northern Indiana mills and among ore miners, local strikes seem unlikely.

A few delegates criticized the contract presented by vice-president Joseph Odorchich, who filled in for ailing president Lloyd McBride. U.S. Steel Homestead local president Ron Weisen was upset that delegates didn't have a full 24 hours, as promised, to review the contract and consult with local members. Chicago South Works president Alice Peurla thought good pensions were the responsibility of the companies and shouldn't be won at the expense of active workers' cost-of-living protection. And there were numerous complaints that there was still no progress on establishing penalties for management when it violates the contract or on making workers innocent of disciplinary charges until proven guilty. "It's a mixed bag," iron ore local president

Joe Samargia said. Although the pension improvements were good, he said, a few weeks later "you look back and say, 'What kind of language do we have on safety or contracting out?' And then you're disappointed."

"I voted for the agreement," said Jim Balanoff, director of the Chicago-Gary district that has produced many union dissidents. "It addresses what annoyed us. Could we have done better? I don't know. Here you have only two choices—take this or arbitration. Would I take this instead of a strike? I don't know."

Considering the pressures on the union, the economic package is likely to satisfy most members. The lingering dissatisfactions are likely to come from the inability to constrain management powers on the shop floor and in determining whether to invest, or disinvest, in the steel industry. Samargia, for example, commented, "My guess is that in order to get the ENA again the union will have to go after Congress to get 10-5-3 [a rapid depreciation proposal in Congress: ITT, Apr. 15]. If the companies get that, this is a terrible contract, because with 10-5-3 they'll make so much money we could get twice as much." But in light of the precarious economic circumstances and the laments from the industry, even many of the union militants were saying of their negotiators, as Rudy Schneider of the big Inland Steel local did, "They got a better agreement than I figured they would."

labor unions feel they have something now [with the Democratic Party], while we offer just a lick and a promise," Rose said.

Commoner's only chance to attract such voters would be to establish sufficient electoral credibility with his potential "new class" base to begin winning some endorsements from labor and minority leaders.

Kinoy, Clement and Walker have already indicated their disagreement with such a strategy. They are not as concerned about electoral credibility as about the party's links with certain causes and organizations in minority communities. If they have their way in determining the party's strategy, it will more resemble traditional left-wing efforts at community organizing than an attempt to become the "second party."

Commoner and his allies are presently undecided about their campaign strategy, but they are committed to achieving electoral credibility for the Citizens Party and can be expected to adjust their tactics accordingly. If so, and if Anderson doesn't enter the race, the Citizens Party could surprise everyone, including the delegates who left its founding convention disgruntled and bewildered.

## Citizens

Continued from page 3.

The party's long-run success depends on its winning over the Democratic Party's blue-collar and minority base, but its initial chances for success in 1980 will probably lie with what Don Rose calls the "new class." In 1980, these middle-income Democrats have supported Anderson, Brown and Kennedy. Their concerns are with the waste and irrationality of American capitalism and with the dishonesty and corruption of politics. They are more concerned about energy conservation and the solar transition than about jobs and welfare spending. They can be won over either by a clean economic conservative/social liberal like Anderson or by a genuine radical like Commoner.

It will be more difficult for the party to score initial gains among blue-collar workers and minorities. Commoner is not sufficiently well-known, nor is his image right, to reach either constituency over the opposition or indifference of their elected leaders. "Blacks and major

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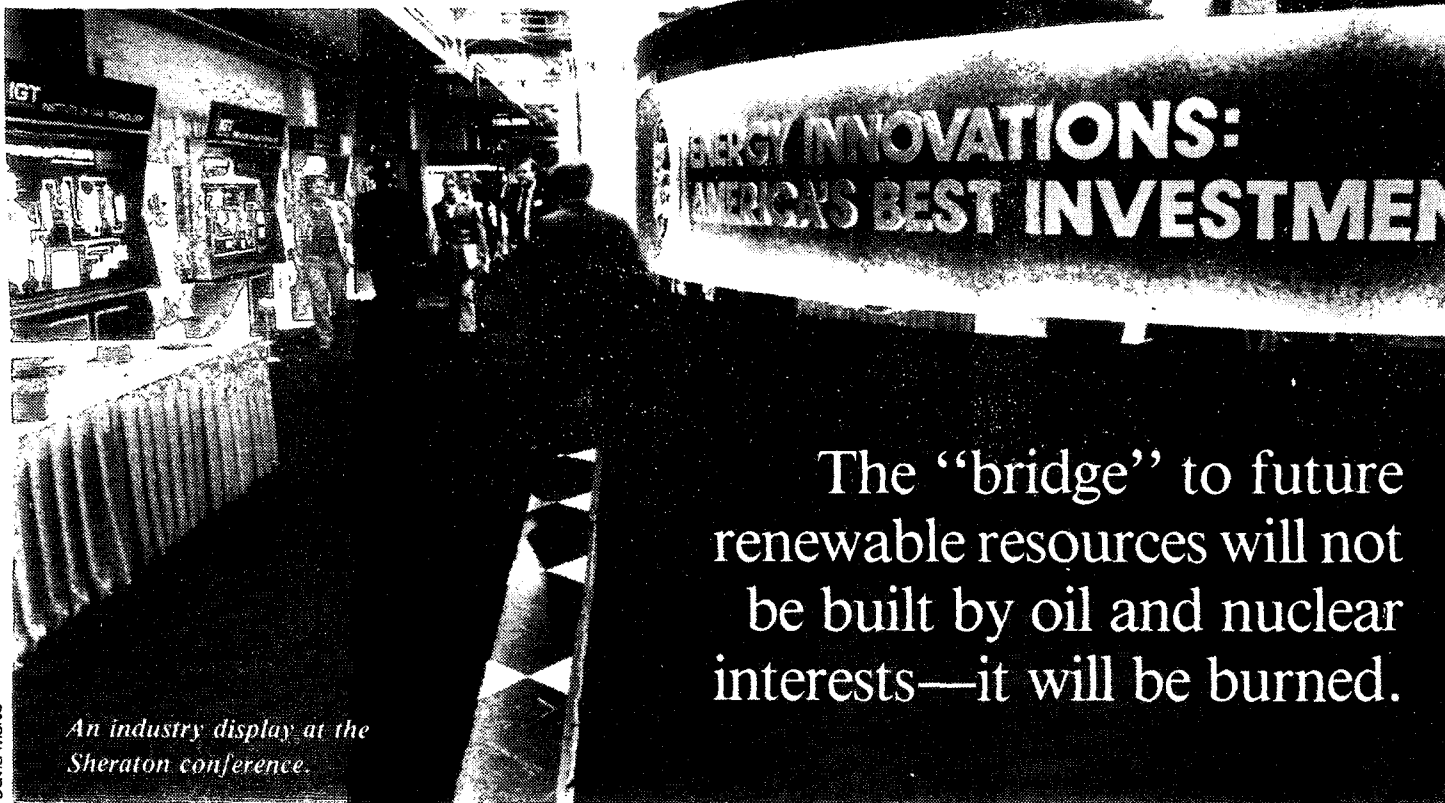
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## ENERGY POLICY



An industry display at the Sheraton conference.

The "bridge" to future renewable resources will not be built by oil and nuclear interests—it will be burned.

## Let Exxon and Westinghouse plan your energy future

By David Morse

WASHINGTON, D.C.

**T**HE 7TH ENERGY TECHNOLOGY Conference was bigger than ever this year. The three-day extravaganza, held at the Washington Sheraton and billed as "the nation's most significant energy forum," was attended by some 6,000 energy professionals from all over the country.

One might well ask how the sponsors—the American Gas Association, the National Coal Association, and the Electric Power Research Institute (which represent oil and nuclear interests as well)—could presume to speak for all energy interests. But the conference mirrored the U.S. government's energy priorities all too perfectly.

And for anyone concerned about the energy future of this country—in particular the prospects for using our dwindling fossil fuel supplies to build a "bridge" to future dependence on renewable resources—the 7ETC, as the sponsors like to call it, was a sobering experience.

Amidst the glitter and hoopla of 330 exhibitors' booths—hawking everything from industrial heat-sensors and electric cars to coal gasification plants and planned fusion reactors—there was, to be sure, an optimism born of the heady knowledge that the federal government would be spending billions of dollars on new energy technology.

Big, capital-intensive, high-technology projects were touted heavily. More modest alternatives such as low-head hydro, flat-plate solar collectors or small wind generators were not much in evidence.

The same priorities are reflected in the Carter administration's energy plan. The Department of Energy (DOE) has been alloting a token 4 percent of its research and development budget to solar energy, for instance, and this was recently reduced. The lion's share has been going to "synfuel" and to subsidies of various kinds for the nuclear industry, including the building of thermonuclear weapons.

### Who is getting the money?

Predictably, the fat DOE contracts have gone to Boeing Aerospace, Dow Corning, General Atomic, General Electric, Exxon, Grumman Aerospace, Hughes Aircraft, Lockheed Missiles & Space Co., Rockwell International, Westinghouse—companies that in many respects are least equipped for innovation. And the reasons have less to do with national energy needs than with the revolving-door relationship between government

and the defense giants, and the extent to which oil interests have penetrated big business at large.

Possibly the most hopeful project being discussed at the conference, for example, was a system for generating electricity by means of ocean thermal energy conversion (OTEC). The principle is simple: a seagoing barge is equipped with two heat-exchangers, one fed by warm surface water, the other fed by a pipe dangling 3,000 feet into the colder depths. On the barge is a sort of loop filled with ammonia. The ammonia enters the warm heat-exchanger where it is vaporized to drive a turbine, and then returns to the cold heat-exchanger where it is condensed back into a liquid; then back to the warm heat-exchanger, in a perpetual cycle. The turbine of course is hooked to a generator.

Such devices, according to their proponents, could generate enough power from the Gulf of Mexico alone to supply 100 times the electricity presently consumed in the U.S., with virtually no damage to marine life. The best news of all is that it's been tried, using a converted Navy barge and off-the-shelf components; and it works.

Now for the bad news. According to Ray Reece, in a book called *The Sun Betrayed*, an OTEC design was pioneered by a small company headed by inventor J. Hilbert Anderson. A DOE study showed that Anderson's design would have produced power at a cost of only \$1,500 per kilowatt of capacity, compared to one designed afterward at Lockheed, with a projected operating cost of \$2,600 per kilowatt. A scientist writing in *Nature* magazine judged Anderson's model superior because of its skeletalized design, which made it one-tenth the weight of another competitor, and substantially cheaper to build. But when the big bucks were handed out for a small-scale working prototype, not only did Lockheed get the contract (it was a Lockheed researcher who reported on the "Mini-OTEC" project at the conference) but the projected feasibility for the whole OTEC array was limited to the Gulf states.

All this would be disturbing enough if it were only a question of dollar waste. But something comparable has happened at almost every juncture of wind and solar funding.

Of the wind-generators, only the most impractical, elephantine projects ever make it as far as the Sandia Laboratories in Albuquerque or Rocky Flats, Colo.—the weapons testing sites where, appropriately enough, the DOD-staffed DOE sends prototypes to do battle with wind

and sun. DOE staffers like to joke that the two-megawatt monstrosity at Boone, N.C., has generated more column-inches in newspapers worldwide than it has electricity.

The government's record in solar is scarcely any better. Flat collectors are simple enough that basement tinkers can provide a yardstick for price and efficiency. Photovoltaic collectors, on the other hand, will require large-scale production before the per-unit cost drops enough to make them competitive with nuclear or coal-generated electricity.

Solar proponent Dennis Hayes has argued that such a reduction in price could come about if the country's biggest spender, the Pentagon, were to purchase 150 megawatts of photovoltaic capacity for \$450 million, in the process saving \$1.5 billion in fuel and maintenance for

internal-combustion generators over a 25-year period. Subsequently the government did place a large order; but much of the money is being absorbed by firms with oil interests and in some cases by oil companies themselves. So far, the breakthroughs in photovoltaics have come about outside the circle of U.S. government assistance.

The same incipient failure has dogged federally backed programs for converting municipal waste into energy—a technology that has the most immediate application in the areas of high population density, particularly the urban Northeast. At one of the conference sessions, various officials described attempts in this country to convert biomass in the form of municipal garbage into energy. Faces were glum, recounting failure after failure. Then the last speaker, Klaus Feindler, described an ambitious program of "co-disposal," in which solid waste and sewage sludge were mixed to fuel steam-generation of electricity, apparently with great success, in Krefeld, Germany.

The U.S. government's pattern of failure with renewables has inescapable regional implications. Beginning with deregulation of oil, federal policy has served to enrich the Sunbelt as effectively as if it had been designed in Houston and Atlanta with that end in mind.

Increasingly, the interlocking interests of the oil, nuclear and defense industries have assumed the shape of an energy cartel. As Richard Barnett pointed out recently in the *New Yorker*, 13 oil companies control almost half the country's uranium reserves—which explains in part why the price of uranium has risen with the price of oil.

To entrust precisely these energy giants with the task of designing appropriate technologies for the rest of the country is like leaving the fox in charge of insulating the henhouse.

If the big energy conglomerates are successful in pegging the per-kilowatt price of alternative energy to the cartelized prices of fossil and nuclear generation then we will have lost the opportunity to develop the renewable resources that the nation has in abundance—not only in the sun-bathed Southwest, but also in the Northeast and the Northwest, where the opportunities are tucked away more subtly in the topography: low-head hydro, wind and wave-power, and biomass. The future will be upon us, and the good old boys with one foot in the Pentagon and the other in Houston may well have burned our bridges. ■



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STRI



# IN THE WORLD



At this point, only the president refuses to admit that the military is in control of the government.

By Arthur Allen

## SOUTH AMERICA

# Permanent state of siege in Colombia

As a result of the embassy takeover, this year's attacks on the left may outstrip 1979, called the "Year of Torture" by Garcia Marquez' *Alternativa*.

IT HAS BEEN A BAD YEAR FOR THE diplomatic corps. On Feb. 27, the latest fashion in leftist militancy unfolded in Bogotá, Colombia. While the guests arrived one by one for a reception in the Dominican Republic's embassy, 30 young student types played soccer in an adjacent field. The Paraguayan ambassador was the last to witness this animated match from the sidelines before the jersey-clad guerrillas forced their way into the compound. In the past several months, embassy takeovers have been the daily fare in Latin America. Observers are hopeful that this incident will not end like the February occupation in Guatemala, where the military torched the Spanish embassy and 30 people inside.

Just how the guerrillas were able to pull off the maneuver continues to confound the military, but a few points illustrate how the M-19 (April 19th Movement) guerrillas have come to be known as the "Bad Boys" of Bogotá.

"Comandante Uno," identified by the Bogotá daily *El Espectador* as Everth Bustamante Garcia, an ex-liberal fugitive, entered the embassy that afternoon as an invited guest. How he received the invitation is unclear. The fact that the embassy compound was once the home of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla (the man whose allegedly fraudulent defeat in the presidential elections of April 19, 1970, gave birth to this guerrilla movement) adds to the mystery. Once the assault was completed, the guerrillas resumed the cordial manners of their mainly middle-class upbringing. Released several days after the takeover, Costa Rican ambassador Maria Elena Chassoul said that the guerrillas had been charming hosts.

But Colombian politics are no cocktail party, and they are not a "cowboy movie" either, as one member of the left put it. And the M-19's political tactics are a matter of concern to the various sectors of the left here.

The guerrillas in the embassy have given two reasons for the take-over. One is that 311 jailed comrades are now being tried in one of the many military tribunals that have been convened since President Cesar Turbay Ayala declared a state of siege last year. The occupiers are demanding their release. The second, more important purpose, is to draw world attention to the fact that Colombia is not a Latin American bastion of liberalism, as local leaders and U.S. officials have claimed.

At this point, only the president and his coterie of associates refuse to admit

that the military has taken over the government. Ex-president Dario Echandia has characterized Turbay as a "yes-man." By all accounts, the man giving the orders is defense minister General Luis Carlos Camacho Leyva.

The state of siege has been in place since Jan. 1, 1979, when M-19 guerrillas tunneled into an army garrison and removed some 500 weapons. The Turbay government responded with a massive anti-subversion campaign. Amnesty International estimates 2,000 suspects were detained in January alone. Most of those held by the military are activists from Colombia's larger cities suspected of being M-19 members. This is thought to reflect the fact that the M-19's rural counterparts—the Colombian Armed Revolutionary Forces (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN), among others—have not been so lucky as to be detained; in the countryside, where it is less conspicuous, summary execution is the usual solution to any question of guilt.

The embassy incident has highlighted the influence of the military in Colombia. The army's refusal to give up any of its prisoners has left the president little space to maneuver.

While Colombia's recent history has been violent, it is only since 1977 that the military has attained a significant political role. In that year, a two-year price boom in coffee, which continues to be the country's main source of foreign exchange, subsided. Inflation rose to 30 percent and unemployment stayed at about 10 percent. In September labor leaders called a general strike. The military leaned on the Liberal-party president, Alfonso Lopez Michelsen, convincing him to sign a series of decrees that permitted the holding of suspects without trial. Under this state of siege, "sensitive" cases were transferred from civil to military courts. Like its southern neigh-

bors, the Colombian military justified this conditional state of war by the "alien" nature of the criminals—as servants of foreign ideologies, they are treated as prisoners of war.

This belligerent theme was played up at the XIIIth Armed Forces Conference held in Bogotá last November. (Dominated by the least progressive Central and South American governments, the annual event was boycotted this year by all Andean pact countries except Colombia.) The meeting was highlighted by Argentinian General Viola's suggestions for the establishment of a "regime of exception" to handle an emergency situation on the Latin American continent. Citing the case of Nicaragua, where the Sandinista front was able to uproot a well-trained and well-armed national guard, Viola emphasized that the Latin American armies should "renounce their professional character and build themselves on the support and manpower of the people." Sound like a Leninist polemic? The military leaders of the region have learned a lot from the experiences of the past year, and their conclusion is that the armed forces should become politicized.

The "Viola-tion" of Colombia by its military is precisely what progressives in the country are worried about. While the five-day conference dragged on, 50 members of the FARC were tried in a military tribunal a few blocks away.

### The disputed election.

Guerrilla violence in Colombia is no leftist invention. In "La Violencia" of 1948-58, liberal and conservative party guerrillas fought it out, leaving some 200,000 dead. In 1953, General Rojas Pinilla seized power in a military coup. Rojas tolerated, to a degree, liberal guerrilla activity and, more importantly, gathered a following of his own as a

populist in the mark of Peron. He was pressured out of office in 1957, when the liberals and conservatives reconciled to form the National Front. The Front has controlled the ballot boxes since that time; the two parties agreed to alternate in the presidency every four years, and the cabinet is a two-party body. The coalition never needed to resort to fraud in a national election until 1970.

When Rojas returned to the public eye in that year, he had dropped the title of general and become just plain Gustavo. Running as a conservative in the elections, he had a wide measure of popular support. But the morning papers of April 20, showing Rojas smiling and his opponent expressionless, were replaced by a revised edition with the smiles reversed. No one knows for sure if the tally changed in the ballot boxes or in the liberal party's offices.

Many date the emergence of class politics in Colombia from that election. The coalition that Rojas led in the campaign was populist at best, but its left wing saw the election defeat as the end to viable electoral politics. More recently, another left electoral coalition, the Frente Democratico, has sprung up. It includes the Communist Party (with which the FARC guerrillas are associated), the left wing of the liberal party, and the "firmes" movement, started by novelist Gabriel Garcia Marquez' *Alternativa* magazine.

The Frente had hoped to make a good showing in the district and municipal election held early this March, but the embassy situation stole the show and, as usual, absenteeism was the rule. But the results did not necessarily represent anti-left sentiment. Government figures show that only 27 percent of the eligible population voted—the lowest turnout ever, despite justice minister Hugo Escobar Sierra's pleas to choose between "terrorism or democracy." Some analysts feel the turnout means M-19 was the real winner.

The April 19th Movement began its headline-grabbing career in September 1974 when members stole the sword of Bolivar from a Bogotá museum "to return the sword of the liberator to its rightful home," they said.

Bolivar was no saint, and Rojas Pinilla was a dictator, albeit an enlightened one. The M-19 defends the embassy takeover saying it has helped avoid further bloodshed by bringing the Colombian situation into international view. But the guerrillas do not deny that the likely result is a renewed military campaign against labor and peasant leaders.

In the course of the government-guerrilla dialogues, which have been encumbered by President Turbay's decision to send low-ranking diplomats to the talks, the M-19 has lowered its demands to the release of seven of its leaders held in "La Picota" military prison. The original ransom price of \$50 million has been reduced to somewhere below \$2.5 million. As April 19, the tenth anniversary of Rojas' defeat, rolls around, some resolution of the crisis is expected. The guerrillas have been promised safe conduct to an undisclosed European country, where they promise to release the hostages. The government's offers are reported to include the transfer of the 311 M-19 suspects from military to civil courts, and the admission of another human rights body into the country to investigate charges that Colombia is holding political prisoners.

In all likelihood, once the embassy issue is resolved, the purge of guerrilla forces will continue. In terms of human rights, this year is likely to be little different from 1979, labeled the "Year of Torture" by *Alternativa* magazine. In a sinister footnote to the entire event, *Alternativa* editor Enrique Santos Calderon announced in late March that the periodical was closing due to a "financial crisis." *Alternativa* was one of the few journals to brave the official censure imposed on internal reportage of the embassy situation. Although its editorial staff condemned the takeover, the magazine ran an early interview with the guerrillas.

Whatever the reason for its demise, the loss of this socially responsible editorial voice will be critically felt.

Arthur Allen writes for *Newsfront International*, Peoples Translation Service.



## THE MIDDLE EAST

## New pressures on Iraqi government

It is hard to gauge response in Iraq to Iran's call for Islamic revolution, but there is some new opposition.

By Fred Halliday

LONDON

**B**AGHDAD DOES NOT, AT FIRST sight, give the impression of being a city on the brink of war. Despite the posters proclaiming it to be the "citadel" of the Arab revolution—and the reports of military action by sympathetic forces on such various sectors of the pan-Arab front as Palestine, Ogaden and southern Iran—the Iraqi capital is alive with economic activity, and in particular a building boom brought on by the country's oil wealth. Up to a third of the total population of 13 million now live in the Baghdad area, and hotels and conference halls are going up in preparation for the 1982 non-aligned summit when Iraq will replace Cuba as the head of the movement.

On the main business thoroughfare, Saadun Street, bars and hotels do a brisk trade with foreign businessmen and Arabs up from the dryer states of the Gulf. In the more traditional shopping center, Rashid Street, which still boasts its fading Ottoman arcades, Kurdish men in baggy trousers mix with the Arab peasants of the south and women in the black Abaya cloak.

Baghdad is not marked by the extremes of rich and poor visible in its counterpart to the east, Tehran. There is certainly a wide difference between the villas of Al-Tarafa and the rundown housing of Al-Masrafiya—the district that houses the poorest migrants—but the Iraqi government has been able to spread its revenues more evenly than the Shah ever did. Prices of foodstuffs and of all other commodities are controlled by law, as are rents. A mass campaign has greatly reduced adult illiteracy. Large-scale corruption by individuals is severely punished, sometimes by execution. The middle class is subjected to restrictions on consumer imports and foreign travel, but by the same token there is not the same cleft between a super-rich petro-bourgeoisie and a disgruntled middle class that existed in Iran. There is more or less full-employment in the cities and up to one million Egyptian migrants have come to Iraq to meet the new demands of the labor market.

Over the past two weeks the streets of Baghdad have been decked with posters saluting the 33rd anniversary of the founding of the Baath Party, which has held power in Iraq since 1968. No one will say how many members the party has, but one party leader assented when I suggested to him that it had a million members. The party has an ideological preparation school, which graduates 500 selected cadres from four-month courses each year, 100 of them women.

But power is centralized at the very top of the organization, and last July 21 leading officials were shot after being accused of conspiring with Syria to overthrow the present government. Party members throughout the country were later shown a video tape of the central committee meeting at which the accused members were arraigned.

At the top of the party, and in undisputed control, is president Saddam Hussein. Born in 1937 of poor origins in the northern provincial town of Tikrit, Sad-



Iraq deported 60,000 Iranians during a dispute with the Shah in 1975, and is expelling more in the current crisis. These refugees crossed the border on April 12.

dam Hussein is by all accounts a very hard-working, calm, and, when he thinks it necessary, ruthless person. A lawyer by training, he first made his name in a 1959 attempt to assassinate the then-head of state, General Qasim, and people still point out the spot on Rashid Street where the incident occurred.

The Baath, which calls itself "Arab socialist," came to power through two coups in July 1968. The ultimate defense of the regime remains the army and the previous president, Hassan Al-Bakr (Saddam Hussein's uncle), was an army officer, whose base of support was the Sunni officers recruited to the army under the monarchy as a counterweight to the mass of Shi'ites in the country.

Yet Saddam Hussein is a civilian and the Baath has systematically trained up its own cadres as officers to be sent into the army to enforce party control. The Baath is not just some fake civilian party run by a group of generals in dark suits: it is a party that seeks to control the armed forces themselves and use them for its own party purposes.

#### Iron-fisted rule.

Iraq has a deplorable human rights record. Amnesty International reports that political executions have averaged 100 a year since 1974, and there are repeated reports of abductions, illegal imprisonments, torture and killings in prison. There have been unconfirmed reports of the execution of dozens of opponents within the past month, and the callous mass deportation of people across the Iranian border since early April compounds the deportation of over 60,000 Iranian citizens during an earlier conflict with the Shah.

It is impossible to gauge how deep the response in Iraq is to the calls for Islamic revolution coming from Iran, but the very fact of the deportations, and official statements about bomb attacks, indicate that there is a new mood of opposition among some young people.

While it is not possible to gather independent judgements on the level of oppression, government officials are disconcertingly direct about this matter: Party officials I spoke with repeatedly expressed the belief that the only way to rule Iraq is with an iron fist, accusing those who did not accept it of having a "liberal" misunderstanding of the developing world.

One leading party official put it this way: "Brutality is a natural thing in the Third World. And it is in the nature of Iraqis to be very tough and to hold very strong opinions." Others insisted that

they could show no mercy to those "plotting against the regime" and large posters on the street proclaim "No freedom for the enemies of the revolution."

The Iraqi regime certainly has a large number of foes at home and abroad.

The quarrel with Iran has very deep roots, going back to the ancient wars between Babylonia and the Parthians. An earlier conflict with the Shah was patched up in 1975. This time around prime responsibility lies with the Iranians, who antagonized the Iraqis by attacking the Arabs demanding autonomy in southern Iran and by calling for an extension of the Islamic revolution in Iraq.

Not only does the Arabic press make no mention of the crisis in U.S.-Iranian relations, but authorities blame the tensions on the "agent Iranian regime."

Party officials said that Iraq would not attempt to seize the three Iranian-held islands in the Gulf until international diplomatic procedures had been exhausted, and the military conflict will probably be confined to border skirmishes. But the escalation of bombings, and the spurious anti-imperialist rhetoric can only enflame the situation still further.

#### International relations.

In international politics the Iraqi government has for some time occupied an anomalous place. It is accused by right-wing American commentators of being a Soviet puppet. It is accused by Khomeini and his associates of being the tool of America and Israel. It has been moving steadily away from its alliance with the Russians, symbolized by the 1972 treaty of friendship, yet it still refuses to have diplomatic relations with the U.S. While it proclaims itself to be the "citadel" of the Arab revolution, it has a good working relationship with conservative Saudi Arabia, and is engaged in a bitter conflict with the rival Baathist government in Syria as well as with the radical regime in South Yemen—the only state in the oil-rich peninsula to break its ties of dependency on the West.

Officials in the Baath Party's new marble-floored headquarters in Baghdad attempt to elucidate these condumdrums to the visitor. The reason for refusing diplomatic relations with America is simple enough, they say: The U.S. provides Israel with the assistance it needs to survive and until the U.S. substantially alters its policy on the Palestine question there will be no links between Baghdad and Washington. Continued U.S. support for Israel will have an increasingly destabilizing effect on the whole region, leading either to the strengthening of the

communist parties, or to the rise of fanatical religious parties such as the one that recently seized the mosque in Mecca. Neither of these are results that the Baath say they want to see.

But the absence of diplomatic ties does not mean that there are no contacts at all between Iraq and the U.S. There is considerable trade between the two countries—Iraq has purchased Boeing 747s for its airline—and a number of U.S. companies are operating in consortia in Iraq. (The Iraqi foreign minister, Saadun Hammadi, studied in the U.S.; in the early 1960s he shared a house in Madison, Wisc., with Class Struggle game originator Bertell Ollman.)

According to U.S. sources, relations between the two countries are "limited but correct." Iraq does have active diplomatic links with western European countries, France in particular: it provides 17 percent of France's oil imports and France is also involved in a controversial atomic energy development program in Iraq.

Iraq's relations with the Soviet Union are not, by any standards, close ones. There has always been suspicion between the two countries, and although the Soviet position on Palestine is near enough to that of Iraq to permit diplomatic relations, there remains a substantial gap between what the Russians support—namely partition—and the Iraqi demand for the complete liquidation of any Israeli state. Although the pro-Soviet Iraqi communist party formed part of the government coalition in the mid-1970s, this alliance has ended and the communists have been driven underground once again.

Iraq has criticized Soviet policies in Ethiopia and Afghanistan, and is alarmed by what is seen as excessive Soviet indulgence toward the Islamic republic in Iran. The Soviet navy still pays occasional visits to the Gulf port of Umm Qasr, but claims that this represents a Soviet naval base in the region are, at least for now, unfounded. Yet it would be simplistic to see Iraq's criticism of the Soviet Union, or its hostility to Iran, as evidence of a secret U.S.-Iraqi *entente*. Iraq's oil wealth gives it room for considerable autonomy in international relations and it is one of the few countries that can afford to pursue a substantively non-aligned policy. It is in conflict with Khomeini over the handling of the hostage affair precisely because it sees this as providing an opening for a U.S. intervention in the region.

Fred Halliday, a fellow of the Transnational Institute, recently returned from Iraq.





Luis Inacio da Silva, known as "Lula," is greeted by the crowd—he has led the metalworkers in three strikes since 1978.

## SOUTH AMERICA

# Metalworkers' strike tests Brazil's new liberal pose

By Bonnie Potter

WASHINGTON

**A** TWO-WEEK-OLD STRIKE BY 100,000 metalworkers poses the latest test for Brazil's much-touted transition toward democracy. So far, the prospects are not encouraging.

Brazil's military president, General Joao Baptista Figueiredo, took office in 1979 promising an "abertura," or opening of the political process. But his subsequent actions have brought mixed reviews. The general's reform legislation to create a multi-party system was cleverly crafted to split the opposition and minimize the possibility of new parties. He ended the torture of political prisoners, but continued to condone the torture of petty thieves and common criminals—many of whom are children caught stealing food. He has granted amnesty to political prisoners and exiled political

leaders, but kept in place the whole apparatus that suppressed them in the first place. And if the police and military are no longer omnipresent at political gatherings and student meetings, it is only because they have switched their uniforms and riot gear for cameras and press tags.

In short, a liberalization has taken place. But it is a very controlled one.

Many Brazilian activists hoped that once the liberalization was under way it would take on a life of its own, and the military would lose control. They cite, as an example, the strikes that broke out in the metalworkers unions in 1978.

The metalworkers have the largest and most effective organization among Brazilian workers, and their actions are precedent-setting. Strikes have been illegal in Brazil since the military took over in 1964, and they are usually violently suppressed. But the 1978 strikes caught the government by surprise, and challenged it to live up to its new rhetoric of demo-

## The government must tolerate union militance or foresake its new rhetoric of political "openness."

cracy for Brazil. The military refrained from its usual brutal intervention, and the metalworkers, while winning only minor economic gains, were able to establish a principle of direct bargaining with the companies.

The 32-year-old strike leader, Luis Inacio da Silva, known as "Lula," became a hero overnight. The head of the metalworkers union in Sao Bernardo, an industrial suburb of Sao Paulo, Lula led the metalworkers in a second strike in 1979. By this time, the military was becoming alarmed by the precedent the strike had set in other industries where the strike rate had increased from almost zero to 140 in 1979. But with the inauguration of Figueiredo as the new president—only a few days before the metalworkers proclaimed their 1979 strike—the time was not propitious for another clamp-down. Figueiredo declared the strike illegal, and even had Lula replaced as the union chief. But his actions only sparked national and even international protests. Church groups, students and all sorts of political groups raised food and money for the striking workers, and telegrams of protest poured in from unions all over the world. Figueiredo refrained from sending in the military to clear the factories, and Lula was eventually reinstated. The union won some minor wage readjustments, but more importantly, it established more firmly the right to strike.

The 1979 strikes brought the Figueiredo regime to a turning point in its liberalization policies. It could either officially

accept the gains—especially the right to strike—as part of its program, or it could clamp down on the unions and roll back the gains they had forced from the government's liberalization rhetoric.

### The counter-offensive.

Before the metalworkers even entered into their 1980 negotiations in March, the government's policy had become clear. It was determined to break the strike—but in such a way as to maintain the facade of liberalization. The minister of labor—who is supposed to speak for the workers—began meeting regularly with FIESP, the industrial federation that serves as the bargaining arm for such big companies as Ford, VW, Mercedes Benz, Chrysler and Saab Scania. The government then began a sophisticated media campaign, beginning with a major TV address by the labor minister on the eve of negotiations. The workers must behave "responsibly," the government official said, also charging them with the responsibility for Brazil's high inflation rate—which hovers somewhere between 60 and 70 percent. He warned that a strike would be "dangerous."

The strike could probably have been avoided had the companies been willing to negotiate. But they served notice early on that they refused to negotiate on anything other than a wage increase. The union backed down on demands for a 40-hour work week and a shop steward system—concessions the big U.S. and European companies in FIESP had given their domestic workers for years. But the union refused to give up a demand for some form of minimum employment stability. Under the present system, workers can be fired without cause. Since workers are eligible for wage increases after their first year on the job, they are often fired before the year is up. Brazilian workers complain bitterly of a "rotation" system whereby one company, for example VW, notifies Mercedes that it is laying off 1000 workers. Mercedes then lays off 1000 workers, and the two companies hire each other's workers at the starting wage scales.

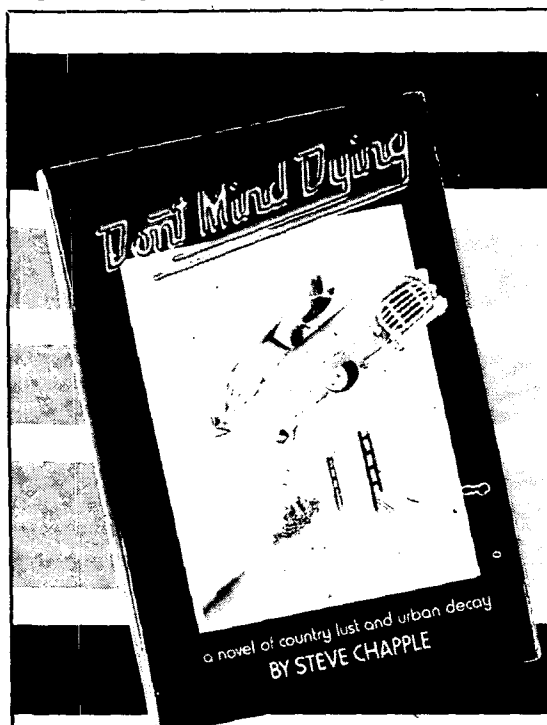
When the companies refused to discuss the job security issue, the union called a strike. (It was called only in the Sao Paulo industrial environs, known as the "ABC" suburbs, since the union is prohibited from bargaining at a level higher than the municipal one.) And the military, working hand-in-glove with the companies, responded in full force. Daily TV and radio bulletins bombarded workers with the message that they would not win the strike, and their jobs would be in jeopardy if they didn't go back to work. Since the union had the workers stay home rather than picket their plants (picketing is more dangerous) the companies sent foremen door-to-door to repeat the message. Workers were then told to sign "forms"—presumably to be used as blacklists—if they remained on strike.

### Holding out.

The metalworkers in the San Caetano region, adjacent to San Bernardo, have already broken under the intimidation. The metalworkers of San Bernardo and Santo Andre have resolved to stay out. Church groups, political groups and other unions have been raising food and money for strikers, who have no strike fund or unemployment insurance.

The metalworkers now face a war of attrition. If their strike assistance holds up, they may be able to stay out long enough to force the companies back to the bargaining table. But even if they can outlast the grinding daily intimidation and survive with meagre food and financial assistance, there is a lingering possibility that the military will intervene to set an example for the rest of the labor movement.

Government intervention at this point would be a strong blow to the regime's *abertura*. But the metalworkers going back to work "voluntarily" would be an even bigger blow for those political activists that hoped the liberalization would snowball, and force concessions the military never intended. As of this writing, the military is still in full control. ■ *Bonnie Potter works in the international affairs department of the UAW.*



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# GLASSING THROUGH INTERVIEWS

LIM FRANKLYN

WASHINGTON

**V**IOLA SCHMICK HAS QUIT HER job in disgust. She worked for 26 years as a clerical for the state of Wisconsin and acquired top secretarial skills that finally earned her \$6.60 an hour. One day she saw state job posting for "parking lot attendant" at a higher salary than she was making. The qualifications? "Must be at least 18 years of age, hold a valid driver's license, and be capable of appearing in court from time to time." Viola was told that the salary was higher because attending parking lots is a man's job.

Viola is one of the 13 million clerical workers who will be honored during National Secretary's Week with everything but raises. Comprising 20 percent of the U.S. labor force—the largest occupation—they outnumber steelworkers, electrical workers and autoworkers combined. Their pay is at the bottom of the occupational scale with median earnings hovering around \$8,000 per year.

One reason that clerical workers earn so little is that most of them—80 percent, in fact—are women. And when "male" clerical categories such as shipping and mail clerk are eliminated, more than 90 percent of the secretaries, stenographers, office machine operators, and receptionists who are the underpinnings of U.S. business and government are women. Since the 1960s the female concentration in these jobs has been increasing, with 85 percent of all women working in 25 job categories.

Ellen Cassedy of Working Women points out that two-thirds of the new jobs opening up in the country are in the fast-growing clerical and service sectors.

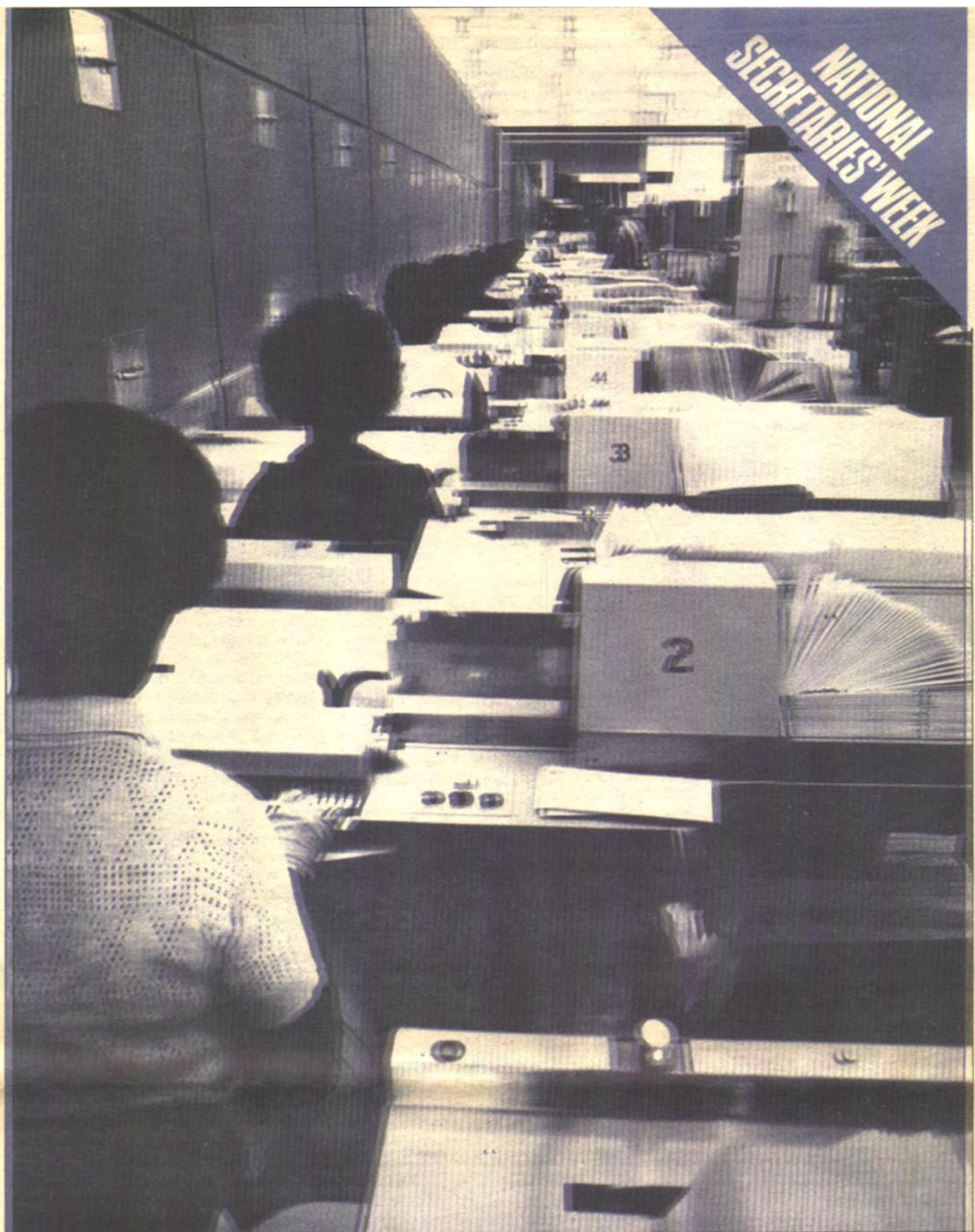
The size of the clerical workforce, and its overwhelming domination by women, serves to explain the pay gap between working men and working women as a whole. Women now earn 59 cents for every man's dollar and women's pay relative to men's has remained constant since the '30s, despite affirmative action and equal pay laws. According to the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, women with four years of college earn less than men who have only completed the eighth grade. And college, with the exception of graduate and professional degrees, serves to *widen* the pay gap.

The reason for the persistent pay gap, according to economist Frances Hutner, is that "women are trapped in female occupational ghettos." They are doing women's jobs for women's pay in a labor market where jobs are becoming increasingly segregated. While affirmative action laws have succeeded in opening up a few new occupations for women, the vast majority remain employed as secretaries and health and service workers. Even in the professions, women are concentrated on the low-paying end of the scale as nurses, teachers and librarians. For this reason, says Hutner, the "equal pay for equal work" principle declared in the Equal Pay Act of 1963 is not enough to alter the inequities.

**What's it worth?**

Women activists have turned instead to the concept of equal pay for "comparable worth"—a standard that addresses structural inequities in the workforce by targeting women trapped in female jobs.

*Continued on next page.*



# BRAVE NEW OFFICE

**C**hanges are coming in the "women's ghetto." As clericals demand status and pay, technology could reduce their jobs to mindless piecework.



Continued from previous page.

jobs. Speaking at a Conference on Pay Equity last October, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) chair Eleanor Holmes Norton called the comparable pay issue a "sleeping giant." "The average woman has come to understand equal pay for equal work," she said, "but I think the average woman has not even heard of the comparable worth issue."

Judging from their attacks on the EEOC, businesses are paying more attention to the comparable worth issue than women are. "If the EEOC is successful in pushing this concept, the cost to employers will surpass the cost of any other employee/employer relations law," says *Enterprise* magazine, predicting a disruption of "all sectors of society at enormous expense." *Fortune* magazine forecasts "enormous inflationary effects" and estimated that, at a cost of \$150 billion in back pay, closing the pay gap for women would "upset myriad long-established business practices."

Graef Crystal of the *Wall Street Journal* invoked the laws of supply and demand to explain the depressed level of wages in women's jobs and insisted that equal pay objectives could be achieved without the EEOC's "interfering in the labor market." Not so, says Ellen Cassey of Working Women, pointing to evidence of collusion to fix wages and restrict organizing activities among office workers. She notes that large employers in major cities participate in organizations such as the Boston Survey Group that discuss wages and benefits. Working Women's groups believe that such groups are responsible for artificially holding down clerical salaries.

Despite the economic implications and the conceptual difficulties, a number of states have undertaken job evaluation studies to uncover sex-related pay inequities. Researchers who developed a comparable-worth study for the state of Washington rated jobs on the basis of skills, efforts, and responsibilities. Truck drivers who received 94 "points" under their system were paid median monthly salaries of \$969, while office workers with 93 "points" made \$563.

Nancy Perlman of New York's Center for Women in Government says a state job-evaluation study revealed complete-

ly separate career ladders for men and women, and she gave this example. A grade three secretary (who needs skills to qualify for her job) earns \$7,000 a year against a male parking lot attendant's \$8,800. The secretary's career ladder peters out long before that of the parking lot attendant who can advance to a Grade 23 management position that earns \$21,000. Noting that the woman's job reaches a dead-end at \$11,500, Perlman says, "the rules are different for clericals, they start and peak at lower grades, while the male jobs typically lead to higher-level positions."

But job-evaluation systems can be a double-edged sword, especially in private industry. George Hagglund of the University of Wisconsin School for Workers claims that to avoid charges of sex discrimination "some employers are changing job-evaluation systems, redesigning jobs, and redrafting job descriptions to avoid the high economic cost necessary to right the past wrongs." Commenting on the proliferation of new titles for women's jobs, Sandra Porter of the National Commission on Working Women says "it is cruel to build expectations around new titles and job descriptions that lead nowhere. The two things with office workers are status and pay; the pay has gone nowhere."

### A new wave of activism.

Equal pay activists compare the comparable worth issue to the antidiscrimination campaigns of the 1960s and say that efforts must proceed on a number of fronts including litigation, legislation, and organizing.

The legal issues are complicated by a dispute over the degree of overlap between the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. The Equal Pay act covers discrimination against women doing substantially the same jobs as men; but women's advocates have turned to the broader Civil Rights Act to litigate issues of comparable worth. According to Margaret Moses, an attorney for the Women's Rights Project of the ACLU, the initial results have been mixed. Denver nurses who challenged a pay scale that paid them less than tree-trimmers, barn painters, and tire servicemen, lost their case when district court judge Fred Winner ruled that it was "pregnant

with the possibility of disrupting the entire economic system."

The International Union of Electrical (IUE) workers charged Westinghouse with wage discrimination based on a company policy of job segregation by sex that dates back to 1938. In a ruling that bodes no good for comparable worth advocates, the court upheld Westinghouse lawyers who claimed that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act could not apply to such personnel practices. But a federal court in Washington state interpreted the law differently, backing a group of prison matrons who claimed that, though their work was not substantially equal to that of prison guards, they were entitled to bring a sex discrimination claim under the Civil Rights Act. The ACLU's Moses says it's essential to develop legal precedents step by step and establish that the Civil Rights Act can be used to litigate issues of equal pay for comparable worth, job segregation, devaluation of women's wages, and biased job evaluation.

But most of the recent attention to comparable worth is due to active coalitions of unions and women's organizations. After some lively back-room discussion at its last convention, the AFL-CIO passed a resolution encouraging unions to consider the comparable worth issue in organizing and bargaining. The resolution survived mainly due to staunch support from the IUE (which has been litigating comparable worth issues for ten years), the Communications Workers of America and AFSCME (which has succeeded in raising wages at the state and local level to narrow the wage gap).

The Committee on Pay Equity, a coalition formed last year to represent women's organizations and unions, is now publishing a manual on pay equity that will be the most comprehensive discussion to date of the comparable worth issue. Editor Joy Ann Grune says that despite some modest legal gains, organizing and political education of women is the key to closing the wage gap. While union women earn 30 percent more than non-union workers, 90 percent of the clerical workforce remains unorganized.

*The Manual on Pay Equity will be available from the Women's Project of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policy, 2000 Florida Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009.*

# WOMEN BATTLE THE BANKS

ANITA ALVERIO  
& ERIC LEIF DAVIN

PITTSBURGH

**F**AYE HEWLETT HAS WORKED for First & Peoples Bank of Russell, Ky., for 22 years. In March 1979 Hewlett, an assistant cashier, overheard a male assistant cashier talking about his pension and insurance—benefits based on salary levels. She was shocked by what she heard.

"I realized it [the man's salary] was much more than mine and he'd only been there four years," she said. "I went to the officers and then the directors and they said they couldn't do anything about it."

Faye Hewlett's anger was shared by six other women at First & People's. One, Carolyn Fraley, was especially outraged that women in banking often train male workers who are then promoted above them.

"They let the women do the work," said Fraley, "but the men get the money. Not one woman at the bank was getting paid as much as the lowest-paid man."

Hewlett and the other women bank employees turned for advice to the Cleveland branch of Working Women, National Association of Office Workers. Cleveland Working Women informed the First & Peoples employees about their legal rights and then helped them win the largest civil rights settlement ever in Kentucky.

Under pressure from Kentucky's anti-discrimination agency, the Commission on Human Rights, Faye Hewlett, Carolyn Fraley and the other women employees at First & People won a \$50,000 settlement in December following charges of sex discrimination in salary and promotion practices at First & Peoples.

Such victories are becoming more common as women bank employees, led by local Working Women affiliates, focus on the banking industry as one of the main offenders against women office workers.

### Banking on women.

Women in banking are particularly underpaid and undervalued. Some full-time women workers are so badly paid that they can qualify for food stamps.

"A bank worker averages \$115 a week take home," says Karen Nussbaum, executive director of Working Women. "If you walk into your bank as a customer, your salary won't be good enough to get you a mortgage or a car loan."

In general, women office workers are poorly paid. Nationally they average \$9,183 a year compared to \$15,275 for male office workers doing the same work. In addition, the gap between male and female salaries has actually widened in the last 25 years as women's raises have lagged behind inflation.

But the banking industry is even worse than business as a whole. File clerks in banks earn on the average 7 percent less than file clerks in other businesses. Secretaries in banks average 10 percent less than secretaries elsewhere. Typists average 12 percent below other typists, and bank stenographers average 18 percent less than stenographers in other offices.

But, besides poor pay, women employees in banks are also faced with the prospect of low-level, dead-end jobs with little or no opportunity for advancement. Not only do men hold almost 80 percent of all management positions in banking,

**C**omputers will reduce most clerical jobs to routine data-entry tasks that isolate workers from each other and leave nothing to individual judgment.





but the sexual discrepancy seems to be increasing. In 1970, 73.6 percent of all bank clericals were women and 81.6 percent of all bank tellers were women. By 1978, those proportions had risen to 79.6 percent of all clericals and 91 percent of all tellers.

"It's almost as if," says Ellen Cassidy, from Working Women's regional office, "someone took a rung out of the career ladder."

But it is not only the stark pattern of discrimination in the banking industry that has made it a target for Working Women. Banking is an expanding industry. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that by 1985 banks will employ 1.75 million workers. In addition, their importance to the economy makes them pace-setters for employers everywhere. And, unlike some industries, banks can more easily correct discrimination problems because of their enormous assets.

### Some victories.

Already Working Women has scored successes in various cities. Chicago's Women Employed won back-pay settlements from both Continental Bank and CNA Insurance. In New York, Women Office Workers won a sex discrimination case (prosecuted by the Labor Department) against Chase Manhattan Bank that resulted in a \$2 million settlement for clerical workers.

"There's profit in discrimination," says Nussbaum. "It's not until you take the profit out that you begin to see change."

Women Employed in Baltimore began its "campaign for higher pay" by requesting a Department of Labor investigation into Maryland's Mercantile Safe Deposit and Trust. A week after the start of the campaign, Maryland National Bank, the state's largest, granted across-the-board increases of \$500 per year to all non-officer employees.

Employees of Equitable Trust in Baltimore received unexpected raises just two days after Women Employed presented the bank with its "Miser of the Year Award." Union Trust announced substantial raises for low-paid employees. Provident Savings Bank followed by increasing entry-level pay for tellers from \$6,500 to \$7,200 and giving other employees a \$500 per year raise.

In Boston, 9 to 5, the local Working Women affiliate, launched a campaign against that city's First National Bank, the largest commercial bank in New England. Changes at the First, they reasoned, would mean changes at banks all over Boston.

Following 9 to 5's demands for job posting and higher pay, the First announced a program of partial job posting. Bank spokesperson Barry Allen insisted that job posting was the bank's own idea and that 9 to 5 wasn't "posing any serious challenge to the way we operate." But one year ago, the First's affirmative action officer had told 9 to 5 they would never institute job posting.

More recently the First announced the promotion of 51 women to positions as bank officers, an unprecedented number of such promotions at any one time. Then in a surprise move, the First also granted pay increases up to 12 percent for non-officer positions.

There are indications that State Street Bank will be following the First's lead by revising and improving job posting and personnel procedures in the near future.

In Cleveland, the local Working Women affiliate prompted the Equal Opportunity Commission to file suit in federal court against the Ohio Savings and Loan Association following a lengthy investigation into the bank's personnel practices.

But even more important was the "show-cause" notice issued by the U.S. Department of Labor to Cleveland's National City Bank (one of the nation's most profitable) claiming as much as \$15 million in back pay for women and minority employees of the bank.

The Cleveland action is thought to involve the largest monetary judgement ever brought against a bank. It followed a ten-month DOL investigation into charges filed by Cleveland Working Women that reviewed the bank's affirmative action plans, personnel records and conducted employee interviews. The De-



A 1978 demonstration by Cleveland Working Women at National City Bank.

**"Equal pay for equal work" means little when jobs are segregated by sex. "Equal pay for comparable work" is the key to future equity claims.**

partment then arrived at the \$15 million figure by constructing hypothetical 40-year careers for male and female employees.

### Banks fight back.

National City president Robert Killpack has said that the bank will fight the back-wage claims because "we are convinced that there is no class discrimination on the part of National City Bank." The decision to fight the suit reflects a determination on the part of a number of banks to stall or to negotiate a minor remedy rather than make major changes in personnel procedures. For this reason, Working Women strongly supports a Department of Labor proposal to codify DOL authority over banking institutions on the basis of their membership in federal insurance programs such as the FDIC. Further, they urge the Office of Contract Compliance Programs (OCCP) to pursue avenues of enforcement similar to those used when a bank is found to be mismanaging its funds. Cease and desist orders, fines, and other measures that hold bank management personally responsible for continued non-compliance would, they believe, be extremely effective sanctions.

In addition, Working Women is urging regional offices of the OFCCP toward a closer working relationship with Working Women affiliates, which can bring valuable contacts and resources to investigations.

"Before 1978, the OFCCP rarely looked at affirmative action plans in banks," says Karen Nussbaum, from Working Women's Cleveland regional office. "We've been helping them reorder their priorities."

In the meantime, Working Women is keeping up the pressure nationally on the banking industry. Ten city chapters have banking committees monitoring over 50 banks. Data is collected from personnel surveys and publicly available affirmative action records and presented in public hearings.

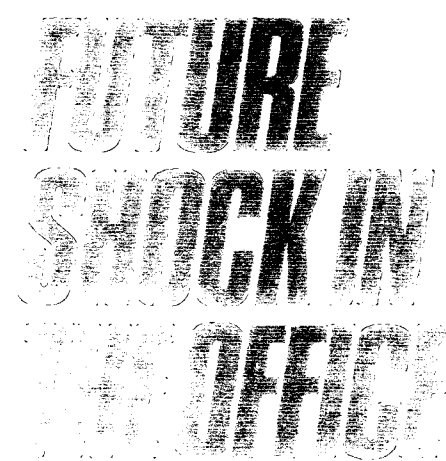
"The key here is that everything we do is very public," Nussbaum says. "Public action provides much more pressure for change than individual actions tied up in legal channels."

Currently, Working Women is planning a well-publicized conference on Wall Street in October to announce which banks have and have not made progress

in promotions, equal pay, and opportunities for advancement.

"The conference is carefully timed," says program director Ellen Cassidy, "to coincide with the American Bankers' Association's annual convention. Bankers throughout the country must get the message that it is time the banks stopped making a profit off keeping women and minorities in low-paying, dead-end positions."

Working Women, it seems, is taking the profit out of discrimination.



DIANA JOHNSTONE

PARIS

OFFICE WORK IN FRANCE IS on the eve of technological changes similar to those that have already transformed industry and agriculture. The rapid spread of automatic data processing—*informatique* in French—promises productivity gains in service industries comparable to those already achieved in farming and manufacture, with the same sort of effects on the labor force: massive cutbacks in personnel and a deepening gap between a top few people in control positions and a mass of de-qualified button-pushers carrying out simple tasks they are not even expected to understand.

These at least are the effects predicted in the official 1978 presidential task force report by Simon Nora and Alain Minc, *L'Informatisation de la Société*. Citing surveys of key sectors, the Nora-

Minc report forecasts that the major employers of white collar workers—banks and insurance companies—will trim personnel by about 30 percent in the next decade, thanks to the introduction of computer technology.

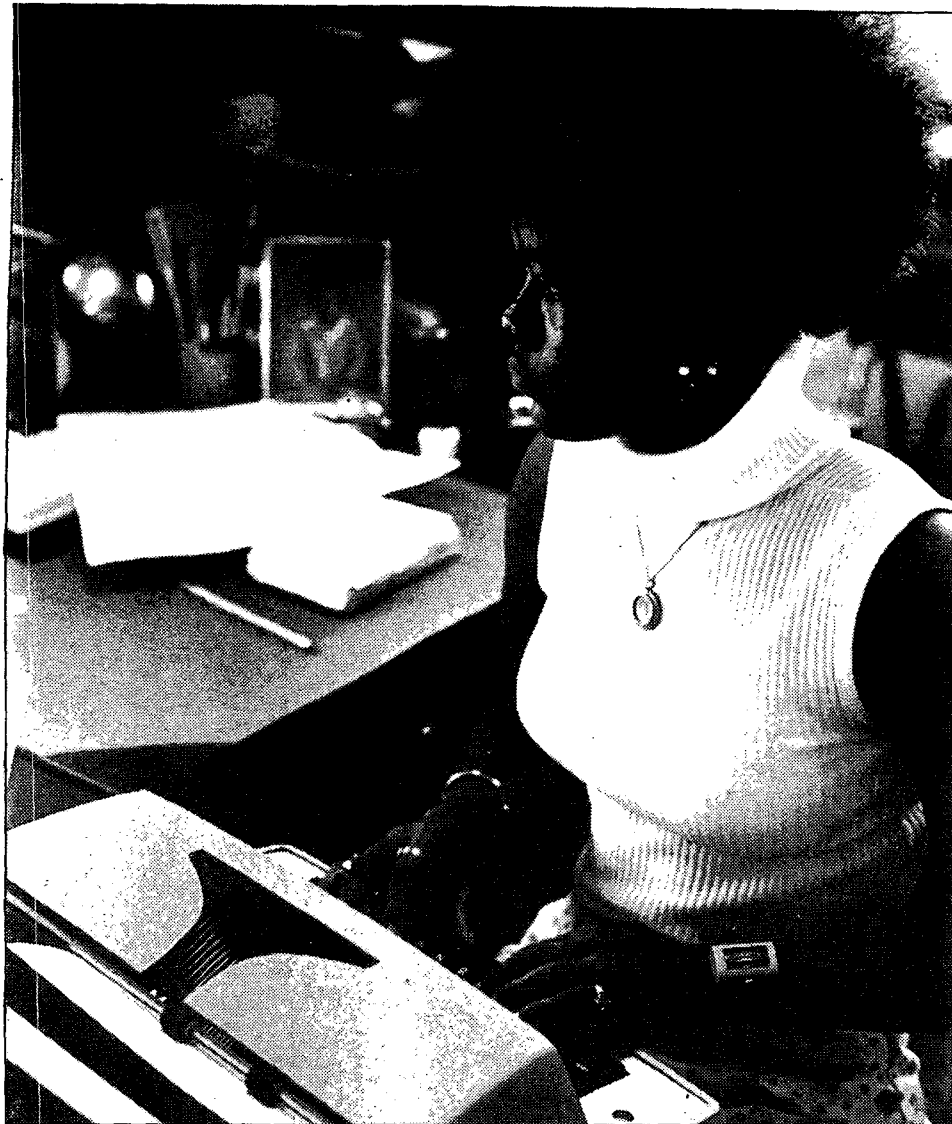
In the past 20 years, the expanding service sector has managed to absorb the increased labor supply, notably the much greater number of women seeking employment. Automation and computerization are changing this picture, the experts warn. In the coming period, industry is expected to increase productivity while retaining about the same number of workers. But the service sector will make a much bigger jump in productivity and will cut back its labor force drastically. The jobs likeliest to be eliminated are mostly held by women.

Competition from foreign companies will oblige French banks and insurance companies to adopt the new technology and dispense with nearly a third of their employees, according to Nora and Minc. Lack of competitive pressure may slow down personnel cutbacks in big government administrations like the social security health coverage system. But postal workers are threatened. In the 1980s, France's long-neglected telephone system is going to be rapidly expanded and transformed by linkups to advanced electronic data processing systems—a mix of telecommunications and computer technology dubbed *telematique*. This means that the internal communications of government and business, which currently accounts for about 60 percent of mail traffic, will soon be transferred to *telematique* systems. France's superb mail service (three deliveries daily, near certainty that the letter mailed today will arrive tomorrow) seems doomed, and with it, thousands of jobs.

"Computerization of office work is going to make itself particularly felt on employment in that enormous sector, scattered throughout the economy, made up of 800,000 secretaries," according to Nora and Minc. "Minor investments will entail such big increases in productivity that computerization will no doubt be exceptionally rapid. The dispersion of secretarial employees, their isolation within their firms, is likely to weaken their ability to resist. The effects on employment will certainly be massive..."

Continued on next page.





Steve Cogan

## SHOCK

Continued from previous page.

French clerical workers are unionized according to sector, and each major labor confederation has its Bank Federation with the CFDT apparently the strongest in that sector. There are no official figures, but an estimated 30 percent of bank employees belong to a union. The sector grew rapidly in the early '70s, as major banks opened up branches on practically every street corner, initiating the masses into the checking account habit, draining the "wool stockings and mattresses" of modest savings in a period of concentration of investment capital. This expansion involved hiring young graduates infected with the spirit of May '68, who saw themselves more as a white collar proletariat than as upwardly mobile petits bourgeois. Banks in the '70s had their share of militant labor actions. Bank employee and Trotskyist militant Arlette Laguiller got a fairly large sympathy vote in the 1974 presidential election.

The banking-insurance sector is already feeling the pinch. The number of jobs in the Paris postal checking service has reportedly dropped from 13,000 to 6,000 in the last few years. The number of jobs is not the only problem. In insurance companies, for instance, employees complain that the introduction of *informatique* deprives them of any opportunity to use their accumulated knowledge or judgment in such matters as issuing policies. The computer knows all, the computer decides.

The past few years have seen the growth of "interim" employment agencies that supply both blue and white collar workers for temporary fill-in jobs. Interim agency propaganda plays up the image of temporary work as the answer to the prayers of "women's lib." Posters show cute young women, looking appropriately scatter-brained, expressing delight at the "freedom" provided by temporary work. This freedom entails the lowest pay (30 percent of interim workers are paid the minimum wage, compared to 10 percent of the entire work force), no job security or benefits, no possibility of advancement, no paid vacations or sick leave.

The corresponding benefits to the employer are obvious. He doesn't have to pay the social and fringe benefits required for permanent employees. He pays only for days and hours worked. Interim jobs are thus an answer to rising absenteeism. Perhaps best of all, interim workers are outsiders who undermine the unity of the work force in its resis-

tance to management.

Regular employees often complain that interim workers are inefficient. They aren't around long enough to learn what the job is all about. But office technology is designed precisely to raise the productivity of workers who don't know what they're doing. The computer knows and can correct human errors. Employees become interchangeable, easily replaceable.

### Home terminals

*Telematique* is going to make possible a new way to disperse and divide the clerical labor force: home work on console terminals. No need to come to the office: the office can be plugged in to the home. This innovation will be hailed as a perfect solution for handicapped persons... and women. No more conflict between family and career, mother can change baby's diapers between bouts of electronic piece work. No need to work directly under a supervisor, since the computer keeps track of time on the job and work accomplished.

Last fall, a big insurance office floated a trial balloon by way of a local press report that about 50 percent of its jobs might be transferred to home computer terminals. A woman organizer for the CFDT recalls that the report spread near panic among women employees. "They analyzed just what it meant: work and take care of the kids all day long, be shut up constantly between four walls. The recurring theme was: even when we say we're sick of working, we're exhausted, and so on, that doesn't mean we want to go back home! The office is a way of making contacts, having girl friends, feeling part of society. Frankly, I was surprised that the reaction was so sharp.

"Work at home is the perfect example of a false solution to women's problems. Women are even more trapped than men by lack of time to live their own lives, to reflect, to struggle. Work at home does not lighten the double work day, on the contrary."

Feminists are concerned that the current reorganization of work, justified and facilitated by electronic technology, is strengthening the family as economic survival unit—and women's subservient role within it.

The difficulties for the unions are obvious. Their half-hearted efforts to organize interim workers have had little success. Of the 150,000 to 200,000 interim workers on the job every day (upwards of a million per year), about 55 percent are under 26. Young people, especially young women, suffer the highest unemployment rates. They take precarious temporary jobs because none others are available. But that is not the only reason. Many young people prefer to live "marginally" as long as possible

## SPACE AGE SWEAT SHOPS

Women clerical workers are in a race against time, warns a new report by Working Women. If they don't organize to defend themselves before new technology completely transforms office work, women in clerical jobs will soon be working even harder for less pay and less future.

The report, *Race against Time: Automation of Office Work*, describes the tremendous technological changes that will turn the office of the future into an information factory. The sole beneficiaries of the space-age changes, it suggests, will be the corporations, unless the social impact of office automation is assessed and workers organize to protect themselves.

Managers have found a salvation from labor costs and labor organizing in new "word-processing" equipment. Sales of small computers at a price tempting to small and medium businesses, booming now, are expected to triple within four years. Clerical work is the fastest-growing occupation today, and new technology may be able to automate fully 40 percent of it. Women hold 90 percent of the jobs that can be automated.

Without organizing, many women clericals' work will change dramatically. Their tasks will be more closely monitored, more isolated, and more routinized. Piece-work rates may be substituted for salaries, since computers can keep track of workers' production. Unskilled work will replace skilled

and semi-skilled as the low-grade, low-pay, tedious job of data entry operator absorbs the jobs of file clerks, key-punch operators, bookkeepers and bank tellers.

Other clerical workers will simply find themselves out of a job. Computers vastly increase efficiency—typing speed increases, at a conservative estimate, 50 to 150 percent with word-processing equipment—but wages aren't even keeping pace with inflation.

Finally, the ultramodern office may increase already-high health hazards for clerical workers. Clerical workers now rank second-highest as victims of stress-related diseases, according to a 1977 National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health study of 130 occupations. Video display terminals, the key part of word-processing equipment, have been linked with eyestrain, nausea and development of cataracts (ITT, Feb. 28, 1979).

"People will adapt nicely to office systems if their arms are broken," IBM vice president William F. Laughlin told *Business Week* in 1975. "And we're in the twisting stage now."

But the Working Women report stresses that office technology is still incomplete, and that managers fear, with reason, pressure from organized clerical workers.

The report was unveiled April 23 at a press conference held by Los Angeles Working Women. Following the conference a lunch gathering for Los Angeles office workers was held, with Jane Fonda as the featured speaker.

*Race against Time: Automation of Office Work* is available for \$4 from Working Women, 1224 Huron Road, Cleveland, OH 44115.

—Pat Aufderheide

rather than accept the servitude of a steady, boring job. Many don't identify with their work enough to care to get involved in labor struggles.

The social disintegration promoted by the capitalist system worries not only union organizers but also the system's defenders. What can be expected of all those young people with no habits of regular work, no serious stake in the system? In 10 years, talk of revolution has waned. But the managers of nuclear-computer society are haunted by fears of sabotage and terrorism. Some do not like seeing a substantial part of the work force cultivating outsider attitudes and would favor a deal with the unions that give them some measure of control.

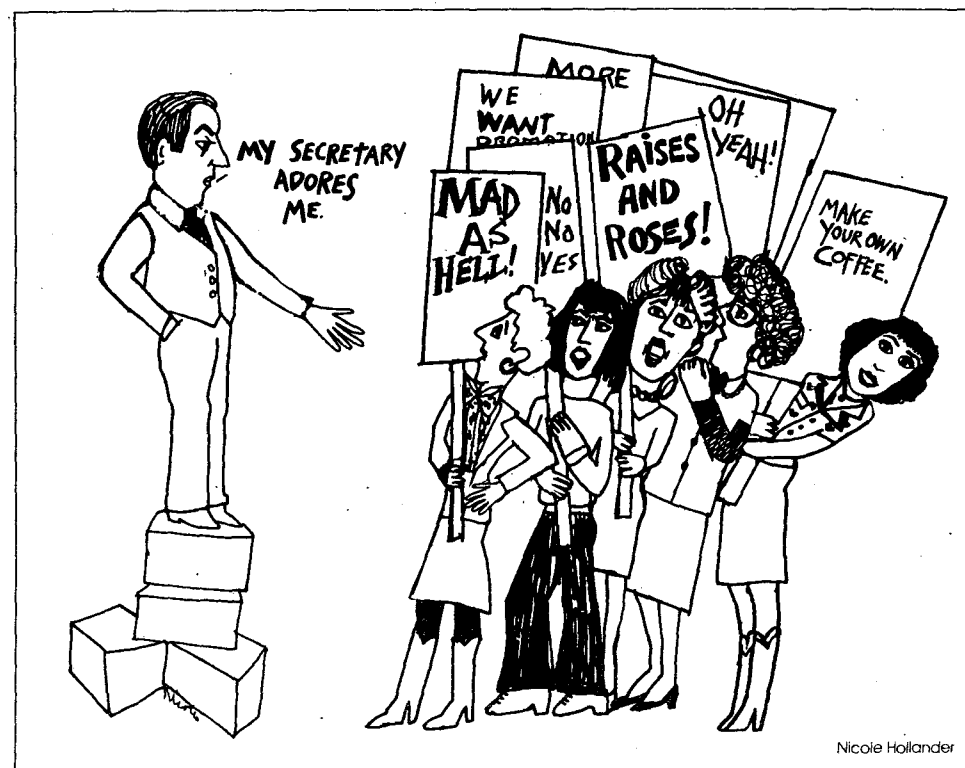
The unions are hostile to interim and other forms of precarious employment. The CGT labor confederation has called for abolition of all private interim agencies. Instead, it wants the government employment agency to control the job market, supervised by the unions.

Right now, the unions are not in a very strong position to get their way. The CFDT has admitted that its membership dropped 2.5 percent last year, and the bigger CGT is probably hurting as badly or worse, although it won't admit it.

There are signs that the Giscardian government, organically linked to the

most advanced sectors of industry and banking, might be willing to trade off the interim agencies' role in the labor market in return for union acceptance of the labor mobility that the interim agencies have been helping to organize. This, at least, would be in line with what seems to be the main Giscardian strategy towards the labor movement: on the one hand, weaken the unions' capacity to play their traditional role of organizing workers against capital, thin their ranks and demoralize their militants. Then, tempt the union bureaucracy with the possibility of survival by playing a new role as "social partner," helping to police a working class cured of its taste for class struggle and dreams of socialism.

CFDT leader Edmond Maire noted last fall that computerization of French society is going to undergo a "fantastic" growth in the next 10 years. He criticized the inadequacy of typical worker reactions to past technological innovations: "either head-on opposition in a rear guard battle, sometimes heroic but always lost in advance; or else a smug confidence that the growth of productive forces will lead to socialism, only to be followed by dawning realization that, far from disappearing, relationships of domination are still there because they are built into the very way work tools are designed."



Nicole Hollander



## EDITORIAL



'ARE THEY STILL THERE?'

## Our two parties are sick and tired

Recent history suggests that our two-party body politic has died a natural death, but insists on decomposing in public. It's difficult to tell these days who's a Democrat and who's a Republican, and even more difficult to tell what difference it makes. As current electoral behavior demonstrates, the moldering mainstream, now experiencing a revival of openly pro-corporate policies, is unable to attract popular participation or support.

Forty years ago, most Americans strongly identified with one of the two major parties. Since then, however, the percentage of voters who register as independents has risen dramatically—to more than 40 percent of the total. Split ticket and primary crossover voting have become commonplace. And the long-term trend in voter turnout has been generally downward.

The once robust party system has had to contend with two illnesses. First the major parties' ability to offer voters adequate choices suffered as conflicts between corporate interests receded and issues involving the struggle between capital and labor became more and more central to American politics—as the needs of most voters increasingly went beyond the capacities of corporate capitalism. Second, the manifest inability of either major party to articulate issues and give voters adequate choices led, in the 1970s, to the structural reforms that made direct primaries the principal means of selecting candidates.

For the most part, the experts ignore the first illness and concentrate their diagnostic talents on the second. Indeed, a growing number of politicians and political analysts see primaries as the cause of party decomposition. They worry that neither party is presently capable of recruiting, swooning, and socializing moderate or reasonably competent candidates because primaries encourage "outsiders" and "extremists" to bypass both party leadership and the nation's dominant political elite. They want to reinvigorate the party system by reducing the number and importance of primaries—by "bringing back the polls," as *The New Republic* puts it.

**Beyond party.**

The increase in the number of direct presidential primaries between 1968 and 1980 (from 17 to 57) has, of course, accelerated the pace of party decomposi-

tion. Primaries force candidates to assemble their own extra-party campaign organizations, and to make direct, popular appeals to voters; they tend, therefore, to reduce the importance of state and municipal party leaders, and increase the significance of mass news media as arbiters of political legitimacy. Primaries also illuminate and underscore the kind of intra-party differences that "old pols" used to be able to manage with a minimum of publicity and rancor.

The effects of the "new politics" of the direct primary are apparent in this extraordinary political year. Party identification has all but disappeared as a determinant of voters' behavior. John Anderson's successes in Republican primaries, for example, were based on independents and crossovers from the Democratic Party, and demonstrated both the diminutive dimensions of "strong Republican" constituencies and the decisive importance of an issue-oriented voting bloc that has little or no loyalty to either major party. Ronald Reagan's impressive victories in Illinois and Wisconsin were due in part to support from traditionally Democratic blue-collar areas, where his populist rhetoric and relentless sincerity made him more attractive than any of the Democratic candidates.

Voter turnout this year also reflects the more ideological, less institutional character of electoral behavior. In the South, where Carter's campaign organization tried desperately to get out the vote, turnout declined from the levels of 1976. Elsewhere, however, a pervasive sense of deepening social-economic crisis that was not apparent in 1976 has made this year's campaign trail a fertile ground for new ideas and programs, such as Kennedy's controls on wages, prices, profits, rents and dividends; Brown's anti-nuclear "re-industrialization" schemes; Anderson's criticism of foreign adventurism and military escalation; Reagan's "supply-side" tax cuts. The result has been a 30 percent increase in turnout from the levels of 1976.

Where primaries have allowed independents and Democrats to vote in either primary, the Republican Party, which can claim only 22 percent of registered voters, has attracted most of the increased turnout. This suggests not that the Republican Party is on the verge of a political comeback, but that differences between Anderson and Reagan are per-

ceived as more significant than differences between the two major parties.

**Lack of choices.**

So the quickening pace of party decomposition is apparent in 1980. But the demise of a stable two-party system antedates the reforms of the '70s. Voters' ideological consistency grew steadily in the '60s and early '70s, as issues involving the struggle between the corporate need for profit and the needs of working people, between capital and labor, came to the fore. Yet the parties were never able to articulate these issues in a way that gave voters clear choices and a policy-making role, because the majority's need and desire for equal rights, full employment, accessible health care, decent education, adequate transportation, occupational safety, and consumer and environmental protection increasingly went beyond the capacities of corporate capitalism.

Most political scientists now agree that declining turnouts for elections in the '60s and early '70s reflected failure of party elites to offer voters an adequate choice on issues at a time when they wanted very much to make one. By 1974, turnout rates were the lowest since the creation of a stable two-party system in the 1830s.

The two-party system's ability to offer voters adequate choices has not improved this year. Increased turnout for the primaries has not meant that the electorate has been satisfied with available choices among candidates. According to a Gallup poll reported in *Newsweek*, 20 percent of registered voters would vote "no confidence" in any of the presidential candidates if the ballot permitted it. In the Florida primaries, where the ballot did permit it, and where turnout declined from 1976, 10 percent of the voters marked "no preference." These figures probably understate the electorate's frustration: recent polls show that 58 percent of eligible voters won't bother to cast a ballot in November if Carter and Reagan are the major party nominees, and that 41 percent of voters in the New York Democratic primary (won by Edward Kennedy) would vote for Anderson as a third-party candidate.

**New conservatism.**

Such electoral perversity is clearly the result of the party system's consistent failure to offer voters an alternative to the

politics of the corporate status quo. Certainly both parties have overrated or misread the electorate's new-found "conservatism." For example, in 1976 the National Opinion Research Center found that 57 percent of those who described themselves as conservatives thought the federal government was spending too little to improve the nation's health; 46 or 47 percent of such "conservatives" felt the government was spending too little to solve the problems of the cities and to improve the nation's educational system.

A majority of the people as a whole are far from conservative. According to Harris polls conducted after the 1976 election, 80 percent of the people wanted the government to help the poor, the elderly, and others hard hit by inflation. This year, Harris polls show that a 71 to 5 percent majority of Americans is convinced that the quality of life would be better "if business were more accountable to the public for its decisions." A comparable majority feels that the quality of life would be better "if the federal government were more accountable to the public for its decisions." And without prominent advocates (except the AFL-CIO Executive Council), 25 percent of the American people favor the nationalization of the oil companies. These sentiments are expressed at a time when discussion of the large corporations, the economy, and energy dominates the nation's political debates in a way it has not since the upheaval of the Progressive Era before World War I.

The people are by no means consistent in opposing their needs and desires to the corporate business system. But this is to be expected in the absence of a political movement that defines issues and develops social goals and programs in the interest of the majority.

Yet voters are obviously willing to make choices on issues. And the choices most of them want to make are consistent with socialist principles. They are unable to choose at present because the party system is in such disarray that it cannot serve as an effective link between voter preferences and government policies.

We think the implication is clear. Socialists can give voters real choices on issues, and resurrect a responsible party system, by entering the electoral arena and making corporate capitalism the central issue of American politics. ■



# LETTERS

**IN THESE TIMES** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## UNFAIR!

**I**N FAIRNESS TO RAYMONDA TAWIL, the Palestinian revolutionary activist whose autobiography I reviewed in tandem with three other books (*ITT*, March 26) and in fairness also to my own political integrity, I am compelled to reinstate the essence of one significant deletion made in my review.

Raymonda Tawil is internationally known for her advocacy of a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian crisis and for her activity to bring together for debate and dialog Palestinians, Arabs and Israelis holding highly controversial and differing views for the purpose of seeking common grounds between them. This aspect of Raymonda's activity, emphasized by my review, was left intact by your editor.

But an entire section was cut out of my review that establishes Raymonda Tawil also as a militant critic of an activist against current Israeli oppression in the occupied territories of Palestine. Deleted was mention of: 1) Raymonda's statement that after the 1967 war: "What I saw was no longer the Jewish people fighting for their survival, I was witnessing a Jewish conquest of our land." 2) Raymonda telling her Israeli military interrogator: "I respect your fight for your survival and dignity. You should respect ours." 3) Her participation in the Palestinian protest demonstrations inside the West Bank directed, as she describes and I reported, against specific current Israeli oppression. These include the official policy of demolishing what the occupation command designated as "guilty homes" of Palestinian families in reprisal against individual family members' actively opposing Israeli occupation and oppression; also the continued confiscation of land that, Raymonda notes, even when partially recompensed financially results in separation of the Palestinian peasants from their source of livelihood and from their roots.

These deletions distort her political stance into being only that of commitment to an eventual two-state coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians. The deletion of every reference I made to current Israeli government policies leaves the impression that I do not consider the present struggle important enough to mention. Such political editing is unfair to the reader, to the subject, to the reviewer.

-Peggy Dennis  
Berkeley, Calif.

## REDEFINING PORNOGRAPHY

**K**ATE ELLIS WRAPS UP HER CRITICISM of New York's Women Against Pornography (WAP) by warning against "oversimplified cause and effect connections that WAP has drawn between media images and anti-social acts." In the rest of the article she brings up the group's acceptance of funding and support from questionable sources and associates it with a "Puritanism that is woven into the history of feminism," but the crux of her argument derives from her own definition of pornography, "the explicit representation of sexual acts aimed at arousal," a definition that is both overly simplified and misleading. Because pornography uses sex so blatantly it seems easy to assume that sex and not power is the point; the

focus of the feminist anti-pornography movement, however, is a redefinition of pornography from an analysis of the power relationships it exemplifies through violence.

To try to separate overtly violent pornography (as distasteful) from that which only objectifies women (as tolerable) is to ignore the position of women in this society. Ellis sees violence only in the actual torture of women, she does not see the violence implicit in a dominant culture portraying members of an oppressed culture as victims to be used. When a segment of society that wields great power over another segment of society spends \$4 billion a year on books, magazines and films that consistently portray (and thus define) the less powerful group as not only subservient but desiring and enjoying that subservience it is not illogical to conclude that men turn to pornography for more than sexual reassurance.

It seems reasonably liberal to oppose attacks on sexuality that diverge from the norm but to try to pass off bondage, as Ellis does, as simulated torture and something that one might be reluctant to pass judgement on is to turn a blind eye to the social ramifications of slave/master sexuality and the implication that what every woman secretly wants is to be bound and raped. Not only is rape a staple of all forms of pornography but in a recent study every one of the pornographic rape scenes surveyed portrayed the victim as first resisting but ultimately enjoying the assault.

In a recent study done at UCLA the reactions of men to an account of an actual rape were recorded. One group of men had previously read a fictional account of a rape in which the woman had enjoyed the attack. This group of men associated the victim's pain with pleasure; the more pain she was subjected to the more they became aroused. Fifty-one percent of this group later admitted that they would do what the rapist did "if they thought they could get away with it." The men in the control group, on the other hand were turned off by the victim's pain.

To men who are already predisposed to rape, pornography provides not only reassurance of the acceptability of their actions but also role models to pattern their actions after. A survey of convicted rapists found that 57 percent of those who had raped adult women had tried something they had read in pornography on their victims; 87 percent of the child rapists had done the same.

One of the images Ellis recalls from the WAP slide show is a picture of a woman's nipple being squeezed with a pair of pliers; that is the fantasy. The reality surfaced several weeks ago when two men were arrested for the murder of five teenage girls in Los Angeles. The victim's faces and breasts had been mutilated with a pair of pliers before they were strangled to death.

"Pornography is something done to women only indirectly," writes Kate Ellis. We beg to differ.

-Kendra Reinshagen  
Robert Logan  
Chicago

## FOR THE RECORD

**J**UST FOR THE RECORD, A SLIGHT CORRECTION in Joanna Foley's article on the March 22 anti-draft demonstration is in order. To give credit where credit is due, the project organizing was initiated

by the Youth Section of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and by Frank Jackalone, national chair of the United States Student Association. Credit for the success of the action belongs to the hundreds of groups on campuses and communities across the country who turned out for the largest and most significant anti-war rally since Nixon's second inaugural.

-Patrick Laceyfield  
National Coordinator, March 22  
National Mobilization Against the Draft

## IMAGINE!

**J**OHAN JUDIS, IN HIS WELL INTENTIONED essay "Carter-Reagan race can give Citizens Party space" (*ITT*, Apr. 2), says of the Citizens Party's chances of viability, "The party's *raison d'être* cannot be to provide picketers or demonstrators at this hospital closing or that trial.... There is little need for another national organization to meddle in local struggles... The Citizens Party should confine itself to statements and appearances so as to have the time and knowledge to perform the mundane tasks necessary to a political campaign—getting petition signatures, scheduling, canvassing, fund-raising, arranging events." And of the perspective for struggle in the course of the campaign, Judis says, "As a plan for 1980 it seems to reflect a lack of experience with election campaigns."

Sorry, John, yours is the lack of experience with election campaigns. Your advice is a plan for total irrelevance for the Citizens Party. The American people are not out there waiting with bated breath for Barry Commoner or some other personage to try to rescue them from 20 percent inflation and 40 percent black unemployment with trusty

mimeograph machines spewing forth position papers or glib statements.

It is precisely a campaign of struggle in which the candidates and the whole party on every level must identify with the people's concerns, find the causes, and move into action. Only that can begin to create in 1980 a place in the hearts and minds of the American people for the Citizens Party.

There is no contradiction in the two perspectives Judis points out: a presidential campaign or struggles over issues. If any criticism is due the national office of the party it is that too much time has been spent on "mundane" matters and that time has not been made for a visible, active struggle launched during the period leading up to the national convention.

Imagine coming into the convention in Cleveland with a party actively involved all over the country in mobilizing on every level to defeat the Carter/Rockefeller/Hoover budget cuts, and a party that had responded to the snub by all the Democratic and Republican candidates for president of the 1,000 black leaders meeting recently in Virginia to develop a black agenda, by arranging a meeting with that group in order to discuss putting that agenda before the convention for discussion and action; or a party that had similarly reached out to the women's movement for a discussion of their agenda for inclusion in a major way in the convention.

No, there is only one perspective for the Citizens Party around which all the leadership and the entire membership can unite. That is to build the Citizens Party of and with the people in the course of struggling for the rights and needs of all.

-Jack Greenspan  
Elizabeth, N.J.

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$10.00 for two insertions and \$5.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

### April 25-27/Portland, OR

**13th Annual Pacific Northwest Labor History Conference.** Special guests: David Brody and Victor Reuther. For information contact: PNLHA, P.O. Box 25048, Northgate Station, Seattle, WA 98125.

### April 26/San Francisco, CA

**March for Survival.** Assemble at 10 a.m. in Union Square. March to Dolores Park for 1:00 p.m. rally. Speakers are John George, Dennis Banks, Barbara Haber and Fernando Guerrero. Plus entertainment. Contributions invited—Volunteers needed. Contact Claire at 752-7766.

### Washington, DC

**March for a Non-Nuclear World,** a national anti-nuclear demonstration. We have buses leaving from Chicago at 4:30 p.m. on Friday, April 25—only \$45.00 roundtrip. Call CANP at 472-2492 or 786-9041 for details.

### April 26-28/Washington, DC

**Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World Rally.** There will be march on Washington April 26 and a non-violent civil disobedience demonstration at the Department of Energy on April 28. For more information contact: Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, 413 8th St., SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202)544-5228.

### April 28-May 3/Nationwide

**Anti-Draft Week** activities around the country include registration/conscription resistance and education, films, speakers and debates on the issues of

registration, conscription, the defense budget, the arms race and foreign policy. For further information contact: The May 4th Organizing Committee, P.O. Box 431, Arcata, CA 95521, (707) 822-4427.

### May 1/Berkeley, CA

**Benefit dinner for the Highlander Research and Education Center honoring Rosa Parks and Septima Clark.** Hs. Lordships on the Berkeley Marina. Tax deductible tickets \$25.00, available from East Bay Friends of Highlander, 1019 Oxford, Berkeley, CA 94707.

### May 2-3/Sonoma State Univ., CA

**Democracy in the Workplace Conference.** The focus is on legislation, labor issues and practical experiences. Speakers include Jack Blackburn, Joe Blasi, Martin Carnoy, Steve Deutsch, David Olsen, Carol Pateman, Derek Shearer and others. For information call or write Robert Girling, Dept. of Management Studies, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, CA 94928, (707) 664-2377. Admission is \$5.00.

### May 3/Chicago, IL

**Chicago Murals Tour** by Cindy Weiss for the Second City Socialist School. Meet at 1:30 at the NAM office, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago. \$2.00. Call: (312) 871-7700 for reservations by April 30.

### Chicago, IL

**The Battle of Chile, Part 3, "The Power of the People."** The dramatic conclusion of the most monumental political documentary of our time will be presented on Saturday at 7:30 p.m. at Jones Commercial High School, 606 S. State. Donation is \$4.00.

### Chicago, IL

Folksinger and labor organizer **Si Kahn** will give a benefit concert for the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition on Saturday at 7:30 p.m. at 333 S. Ashland. Call 975-3680 for tickets—\$5.00 in advance and \$6.00 at the door.

### May 4/New York, NY

**"A Jewish Agenda for the '80s"** will be the theme for Jewish Currents Annual Dinner with guest speaker **Professor Itche Goldberg.** At 8:30 p.m. at the Roosevelt Hotel, 45th St. at Madison.



SUSAN COWELL

## Five years later the myth of Indochina is revived

THE WAR IN INDOCHINA WAS ONCE SEEN AS A TURNING point in American history—the end of American imperialism and of the myth of American innocence. Five years after the last of the American presence departed Saigon with unseemly haste, the Vietnam war has become history. It is being packaged, as history inevitably will be, into clichés, images and “truths” for present and future use. ¶The popular media has begun to address what Vietnam did to us: *Friendly Fire* and *Coming Home* about those at home, *Apo-*

*calypse Now* and *The Deerhunter* on Americans there. What we did to them remains a largely taboo subject. *Vietnam: An American Journey*, a professionally-made documentary on Vietnam's difficult recovery, never found its rightful place on public television. William Shawcross' *Sideshow*, a well-reviewed and important account of America's role in Cambodia, could not compete with Henry Kissinger's version on the sales charts.

Renewed violence in Indochina has forced the news media to face again the realities of that corner of the world. But rather than acknowledge our contribution to the destruction of Indochinese society, the recent tragedies have been used as *ex post facto* exonerations. As *Time* magazine put it, “The psychological effect on Americans...is to lift a lot of the moral burden off the American involvement” (4/19).

The shifting of responsibility is reflected in the language used by the “serious” corporate media. Our war in Indochina is portrayed as a phenomenon of nature—a quagmire, in the classic phrase. Its expansion was allegedly an impersonal pro-

cess beyond the control of participants; deliberate acts of escalation are thus glossed over or ignored. In contrast, the Indochinese regimes that came to power in 1975 are portrayed as active, even willful, participants, bearing full responsibility for post-war problems.

The *New York Times* describes the impact of the American bombing of Vietnam in euphemistic and passive under-

tion because there blame can be placed squarely on Pol Pot and on the Vietnamese invasion. The American contribution to the devastation of that country is overlooked or referred to obliquely. Cambodia was “drawn inexorably into the maelstrom of the Vietnam war” as “the Vietnam war began spilling over into Cambodian territory” (NYT 1/79). Cambodia “became engulfed by the Indochina war in 1970” (Time 10/79).

The Khmer Rouge, however, is not allowed the excuse of being overtaken by a spreading disaster. Its acts appear arbitrary and willful; Cambodia was “ravaged for ideological reasons by its former rulers” (NYT 8/79). In a pattern established in news coverage of the early years of the Chinese revolution, the enemy is not only portrayed as evil but also as all-powerful. A *Time* magazine article headlined “Pol Pot's Lifeless Zombies” reported, “In an effort to create a radically new kind of human being, Pol Pot's Communist fanatics turned their subjects into zombie-like creatures whose will and capacity for human feeling seem all but extinguished” (12/79).

Along with the watered-down versions of pre-1975 destruction comes a romanticized picture of wartime Saigon and Phnom Penh. Largely isolated from the full impact of the war, these French-built cities offered old-fashioned colonial amenities to the Americans and their collaborators. Reporters who return to

West on the Saigon River. But you can still get coffee, and the smiles of the passing girls are as dandy a note to tropical politics as ever” (WP 8/78).

A *New York Times* reporter shared his attitude and his eye for the girls: “The flotsam and chaos of the debacle were no longer in evidence. But the variety and color of life that once made Saigon one of the most fascinating cities of the world were also gone...Private cars have all but disappeared. The change in the appearance of Saigon's women is one of the most striking. Imported luxuries and the mountains of black market American supplies have disappeared, and women no longer wear cosmetics. The *ao dai* dress, whose vivid colors and flowing lines gave a special character to Saigon's women, has been replaced by the white blouses and pants of the countryside” (NYT 4/79).

From Phnom Penh a *Time* correspondent reported on the changes. “In once elegant residential neighborhoods, most of the villas are now hollow hulks;... [in a hotel] the unused swimming pool is filled with dirty water, prompting speculation that it has not been changed since the days of Lon Nol” (12/79).

For Vietnamese and Cambodians these same luxuries meant prostitution, drugs, the black market. They were symbols of the inequality, corruption and dependence on foreigners which the guerrilla movements fought. When similar symbols and resentments fueled the popular uprising in Iran, Americans were again caught by surprise.

The war in Indochina is being treated as a trauma in American history, a disaster we unwittingly stumbled into and then emerged older and more cynical. Along with the assassinations and race riots, it has become another image of the '60s as the decade that ended American idealism. But the experience has not made the rest of the world any more real. Indochina is still just another uncivilized part of an incomprehensible world. It is one of those “turbulent places in Africa, Asia and Latin America where,” in the phrase of *New York Times* columnist James Reston, “anything can happen in the night” (NYT 11/79).

## American innocence and good intentions are once again being posed against Vietnamese evil.

statement: “substantial tracts of land [were] made fallow by the war” (5/77). The Vietnamese, on the other hand, are depicted as deliberately disrupting their own economy: “Vietnam's dogmatic design to make the south like the north... has meant the dismantling of a highly developed system of production and distribution” (NYT 3/79).

Cambodia has received more atten-

tion because there blame can be placed

these cities are haunted by nostalgia. In the words of a UPI reporter in the *Washington Post*: “This city holds a host of memories for Americans who knew it as Saigon before the 1975 Communist takeover. The silver coffee service is gone from the veranda of the Continental Hotel, where Graham Greene and other Westerners once sat pondering the 30 bloody years of East meeting

GIUSEPPE BOFFA

## A real revolution needs no foreign military help

THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, AMONG OTHERS IN Western Europe, has condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The following article by Giuseppe Boffa, veteran correspondent for the PCI newspaper *L'Unita*, does not directly address the Soviet action, but is primarily aimed at debunking the idea that the pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan came to power as the result of a popular revolution.

The article was published in *L'Unita* Jan. 27. ¶For communists, the word “revolution” is the most serious in a political vocabulary. So we try not to use it incorrectly. A real revolutionary process moves millions of people to take extraordinary steps. It has been the most important, and the most characteristic feature of 20th century history.

But long, painful experience has taught us that calling oneself a revolutionary does not make one be that, and that this is even more true of those who call themselves Marxists, or Marxist-Leninists.

For a struggle to be revolutionary it must involve the masses in struggle for their own emancipation. No “vanguard” party can play this role without the support of the masses of the people. This was one of Lenin's fundamental premises, and is one of the fundamental premises of Leninism.

We knew very little about the people's democratic party, which took power in Afghanistan in April 1978. It did not disturb us that it took full control of the Afghanistan government (in which it had

participated from 1973) by means of a political-military *putsch*: all governments in Afghanistan's recent history have been formed that way. But we tried hard to understand how the new leaders would try to create ties with the various social forces in Afghanistani society. But not even the Soviet press ever published an analysis of which classes supported the pro-Soviet regime, or how it organized progressive social tendencies.

They say: but they instituted agrarian reforms. The expression tells us little... even the Shah of Iran spoke of agrarian reforms. Could he pass as a revolutionary? In Afghanistan, distribution of the land did not change class relationships, because there are immense territories of free arid land. The power of the rich is based on their control of water, waterways and instruments of production, not land. A mechanical division of the land as decided in Kabul was not a reform. It prevented people from working with the

old system, but without offering the possibility of working in a new way. No support was given by the peasants. In fact, the “reforms” provoked their hostility and caused them to support their class enemies. According to information from many different sources, including our own correspondent, this is what happened in Afghanistan.

The same thing was repeated in other sectors. The apparent radicalism of certain measures—substitution of the flag, official atheism, co-education in the schools without the creation of schooling on a mass basis did not create ties with the people, but masked the lack of such ties. The isolation in a country where hostility was evidently growing induced the government leadership...to seek foreign support and to import abstract and ineffective solutions. The isolation also provoked breaks and divisions among government leaders. A few months following the April *putsch*, one entire wing of the party was already being persecuted and driven into exile. This is the way to produce another Pol Pot, not the way to make a revolution.

To believe that the remedy for such a situation is foreign military intervention is worse than illusion. There were already Soviet advisers in growing numbers but their presence had produced no brilliant results. On the other hand, whatever good intentions the new political leadership has, having arrived together with the foreign troops, its credibility was destroyed among the people who, illiterate and poor, have long been known to feel deeply about independence from foreign influence.

The simple division of the world into “two camps” in each of which the people must line up in orderly and disciplined manner, is not an answer and certainly not a revolutionary answer, because it does not work in today's world. It was inadequate in 1947, even though the “cold war” of that period can explain the origin of that blueprint. In

fact, it was necessary to drop that analysis a few years later because it could no longer contain the impetuous development of anti-imperialist struggle.

If Tito's serious illness these days can create such intense emotion all over the world, it is because he was among the first to reject this mechanical position without renouncing the ideal of socialism. The world has undergone profound changes; thousands of other sources of struggles for emancipation have appeared on the scene and very few of these accept the concept of alignment in “one or the other” camps—a concept that ends by supporting “Big Power” politics.

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# PERSPECTIVES

## California's whiz kid pol runs head on into reality

By John Judis

IN 1976, GOVERNOR EDMUND G. "JERRY" BROWN JR. WON astonishingly easy victories over front-runner Jimmy Carter in the Maryland, New Jersey and California primaries. It was widely assumed that had he entered the race earlier, he would have won the nomination. In 1978, Brown came from behind to gain 61 percent of the vote against gubernatorial challenger Evelle Younger. Having fought the passage of Proposition 13 in the June primary, Brown was able to convince voters that he, not Younger, was the measure's most ardent proponent.

After 1978, both friends and enemies agreed that Jerry Brown was a political genius, singularly capable of operating in the murky waters of modern media campaigns, able to discern and speak to the public's mood, and able to substitute, when necessary, appropriate symbols for matters of substance. If Brown were to run for president in 1980, few doubted he would provide Carter with a formidable challenge.

But after a year of campaigning, Jerry Brown has been forced out of the presidential race. In New Hampshire and again in Wisconsin, he came in a distant third to Carter and Senator Edward Kennedy. The man on the white horse was sent back to California with his head on a platter.

Brown's ignominious defeat would be no more notable than that of Howard Baker or Robert Dole, except for one thing: intellectually, politically, and organizationally, Brown's campaign was far more interesting than that of his rivals. No candidate tested the limits of political discourse as severely as Brown did. And no other candidate, with the exception of John Anderson, assembled a more dedicated army of volunteers. The reasons for Brown's defeat therefore deserve some consideration.

In 1976, Brown was able to run a largely issueless, image campaign as the protest candidate against Carter. On a moment's notice, New Jersey's trade unionists and Democratic machine, Maryland's blacks and Jews, and California's Hispanics and beautiful people all flocked to Brown. Brown spoke vaguely in his campaign of an "era of limits." He prided himself on telling audiences what government could not do rather than what it could do. Like Carter, he positioned himself symbolically as an outsider against the posh corruption of official Washington.

In 1980, Brown faced a fundamentally different opposition: an incumbent president and incorrigible centrist, who had shifted rightward with the political drift of Congress, and America's best-known and seemingly most respected liberal. Brown could not hope to defeat Carter and Kennedy on the basis of his eccentric image and vague appeals.

### Perspective and program.

Brown ran in 1980 with a distant political perspective and even program. This perspective was specially designed to weld together a new political coalition that would transcend traditional labor/business, urban/rural, liberal/conservative, and even hip/square cleavages. It was forged out of California's peculiar political climate that continues to foster a left and a right-wing counter-culture: Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda, on the one hand; Howard Jarvis and Ronald Reagan, on the other.

From Hayden and the anti-nuclear

movement and from his own limited experience on the new left (Brown helped organize California for Eugene McCarthy in 1968), Brown took his view of American expansion abroad and American energy policy. Brown's critique of

really talking about," Brown concluded in one New Hampshire speech, "is a reform of many of our basic structures—putting people before profit, quality before quantity, and taking care of our needs in America."

Brown's energy views were no less left-inspired. He unequivocally opposed nuclear power. He favored gasoline rationing well before Kennedy did. He seconded Representative John Conyers' proposal for an American energy corporation that would handle all foreign oil imports. He made mass transit, energy conservation (financed by utility profits) and solar energy his highest priorities. ("If we take the funds from the MX missile, we'll have \$120 billion to finance mass transit," Brown said in Madison.)

Brown also ventured into broader areas of the economy with a similar analysis. In New Hampshire, he called repeatedly for government controls on the flow of multinational capital. "You have to restructure the flow of private investment," he said, "to target those areas of America that need economic revitalization."

But Brown's left-wing side was balanced by another side. Hayden was counterposed to California finance director and Jack-in-the-Box king Richard Silberman and to Wall Street investment banker Francis H.M. Kelly. Deficit financing is an obnoxious means of raising federal revenues: it puts taxpayers in debt to banks and corporations that should have made the deficit unnecessary. But Brown swallowed the financial

different health plan, financed directly through progressive taxes, could reduce total healthcare costs.

Brown even spoke at times on behalf of "supply-side economics." His program for reindustrialization included new investment tax credits, new limitations on the taxation of stock earnings, and public bonds sold to finance private development.

Brown expected this mixture of left-liberalism and conservatism, along with his reputation as a friend of women, minorities and labor, to win him broad support in the primaries, as it did in the 1978 gubernatorial race. But what worked against the faceless conservative Evelle Younger did not work against Carter and Kennedy.

### A man for no seasons.

Brown's advocacy of spending cuts to balance the budget made him *persona non grata* among many liberals and with labor. Among unions, only the Farmworkers and the Service Employees International Union (whose president is an old friend of Brown's father) endorsed him. At the same time, Brown showed no signs of winning over conservative voters who, noting Brown's views on abortion, unions, and nuclear power, rallied to more dependable Republican standards.

In addition, Brown, the reputed king of media politics, found himself with an image problem. In 1976, voters had found his bachelor austerity appealing. In 1980, New Hampshire voters found his romance with Linda Ronstadt and his California retinue to be indications of frightful abnormality. "Is your brother queer or a swinger?" one caller to a radio interview asked Brown's sister.

Wisconsin voters also spoke of Brown as a "flake" or a "moonbeam." "He's got lots of ideas, he's very idealistic, but it doesn't mean anything as far as reality is concerned," one middle-class black commented after Brown had spoken at a Milwaukee church.

Brown added fuel to this fire, beginning with his April 1979 safari to Africa with Linda Ronstadt and ending with his bizarre televised speech to Wisconsin voters, directed by Francis Ford Coppola and later dubbed "Apocalypse II."

In Wisconsin, Brown's failure to win either traditional democratic constituencies or the conservative right was most apparent. In one wire service poll, Brown got an abysmal 9 percent of the black vote and only 10 percent of the blue-collar and labor votes. Among Democrats who thought of themselves as "moderates" he got 11 percent of the vote and among conservatives he got 14 percent.

### New left constituents.

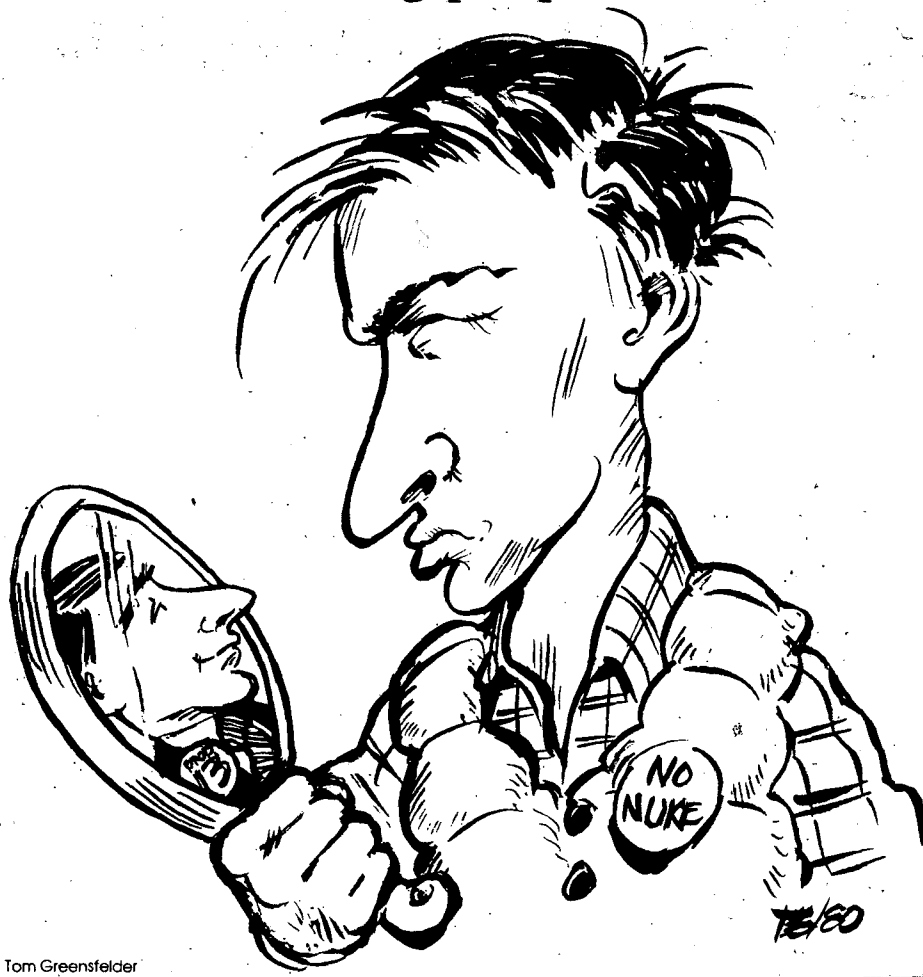
But Brown did strike a responsive chord among middle-class students and liberal professionals concerned about the environment. They made up the bulk of Brown's volunteer campaign staff and most of his vote.

Students in particular like Brown not only for his opposition to the draft and nuclear power, but for what they sensed as his opposition to capitalist irrationality and vulgar commercialism. They applauded wildly when he called for "getting out of this mounting debt and waste and false packaging and excessive advertising of things we do not need." They seconded his calls for sacrifice, discipline, and an "ethic of stewardship." And they accepted the metaphorical unity between Brown's environmentalism and his call for a balanced budget: both, as Brown explained it, were ways of preventing the destruction of the future for the sake of the present.

Like the middle-class followers of John Anderson, the students and liberal professionals were not fazed by Brown's apparent rejection of traditional economic liberalism. In New Hampshire, I asked one college student Brown supporter whether she didn't think Brown was pitching his campaign toward the middle class and ignoring the poor. She said she didn't know, but later came up to me somewhat miffed and said, "I thought about what you asked, and I decided that I am middle class and I am

Continued on page 20.

*Jerry Brown rejected traditional Democratic liberalism and espoused both right-wing and left-wing views, but offered no practical alternatives to meet working people's needs.*



Carter's foreign and defense policy was deeper than that of any other candidate. "We have a leader," Brown told a New Hampshire audience, "who is telling us that our problem in America is military weakness in spite of the fact that we have enough military hardware to drop 15 tons of dynamite on the head of every living person."

Brown's foreign policy views recalled those of William Appleman Williams' *The Great Evasion*: the U.S., Brown charged, was using foreign adventures to divert itself from economic reconstruction at home. Brown denounced the abandonment of SALT II and the proposed increases in defense spending; he opposed aiding "two-bit dictators" like Pakistan's General Zia. "What we're

community and the right wing's view that budget deficits are the primary or even sole cause of inflation, entirely ignoring the corporations' predilection for passing on increased costs and padding their profits through price increases.

Brown also accepted the view that the way to balance the budget was through "across-the-board" spending cuts, ignoring the possibility of closing tax loopholes, increasing the progressivity of the tax rolls, and aiming cuts primarily at the military budget and corporate subsidies.

Brown followed a similar reactionary tack when he criticized Kennedy's national health insurance proposal. He would correctly cite its inflationary impact, but would never point out that a





Undercover agents known as the "beards" posed after-hours in the L.A. office of the FBI, under portraits of Mitchell, Nixon and Hoover. Payne is at far right.

# "Hippy agent" found FBI more dangerous than suspects

By Jeff Cohen

**H**IS REDDISH HAIR HUNG inches below his shoulders. He wore patched-up jeans, tie-dyed or stars & stripes t-shirts, Indian beads, and never went anywhere without his stash of pot.

He was also a veteran of anti-Nixon anti-war street skirmishes. He was so savagely beaten during the 1972 Republican convention by a team of 10 Miami policemen (one cop repeatedly jammed his nightstick into Payne's rectum), that he required several operations.

But there was one thing that separated Cril Payne from the legion of freaks and radicals with whom he marched, shared joints and crash pads: Payne was a full-time agent for the FBI. Not an informant, but an agent.

Altogether, Payne spent two and a half years as an undercover "radical" for the FBI, the subject of his newly-released book *Deep Cover* (Newsweek Books, \$11.95).

Patriotism motivated Payne to enter the FBI in 1969 after graduating from law school in Texas. Reared in small-town Texas, he signed up "to serve" in the FBI after the Army rejected him for medical reasons.

In late 1970, Payne was among the first agents to grow his hair and go undercover for the Bureau, an operation that was apparently kept secret from FBI head J. Edgar Hoover, whose strict dress and moral code would not countenance "hippy agents"—no matter how effective as infiltrators. Hoover repeatedly proclaimed that the FBI had no long-haired hippies and never would. After Hoover's death in 1972, the FBI initiated Operation "Deep Cover," which sent Payne and other select agents not just undercover—but underground—in what became a seven-year futile search for the elusive Weatherman group.

### FBI mythology.

The Bureau's theory was that anti-war leaders conspired and planned violent confrontations with police at pre-demonstration meetings. Payne, who attended these meetings in connection with the 1972 Miami protests, found that no matter what precautions and plans had been pursued by leaders like Rennie Davis or David Dellinger to insure a peaceful march, they had no more control over the conduct of marchers than the Who does over its rock'n'roll audience. And as Payne painfully discovered in Miami, the violence was more often than not provoked by frustrated cops itching for a long-haired head to drum on.

But old ideas did not easily fade among Bureau officials, and Payne had to learn for himself that the radicals he had been assigned to spy on were not monsters.

In Los Angeles in early 1972 the FBI set up "fronts"—the November Committee, composed entirely of five long-haired FBI agents with Payne as one of the leaders. Its ostensible purpose was to provide housing in L.A. and transportation for protesters planning to converge from around the country on the Republican convention, then scheduled for San Diego. When the convention was shifted to Miami, the November Committee assisted in transporting protesters there—a service it advertised in anti-war meetings and in radical papers.

The FBI's scheme worked to perfection with the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). At the request of VVAW leaders, four members of the November Committee traveled in the Vietnam Vets' caravan from L.A. to the Miami Republican convention. It was a harrowing experience for all involved—the caravan was continually stopped and searched by cops, and was even fired upon by a sniper in Louisiana.

Riding in it, the FBI agents discovered that they had been fed another myth by superiors. "The Bureau characterized

VVAW as the most violent group in the anti-war movement," Payne told *IN THESE TIMES*. "It was the unanimous opinion of the four agents who'd traveled with them for many days that the Vietnam Vets were deeply committed to ending the war, not to senseless violence."

The hippy agents of the November Committee felt more threatened by their superiors than by the activists they were assigned to infiltrate. The Agent-in-Charge of the L.A. FBI office was cut from the Hoover mold, didn't like the idea of hippy agents, and threatened to deny knowledge of them if they ever got into trouble.

But the rebelliousness of their radical associates had already rubbed off on "The Beards," as the agents called themselves. Late one night they sneaked into the office of the Agent-in-Charge, where they posed for photos below the grinning portraits of Mitchell, Nixon and Hoover. The pictures would document their existence as long-haired agents should they ever need them.

### Deep cover.

When Operation Deep Cover began in

late 1972, Payne volunteered to go underground. He'd heard much about the Weatherman group—often in hushed tones—during his two years undercover.

With other prospective Deep Cover agents, Payne was sent to Quantico Marine Base in Virginia—"Hoover University"—for a week-long in-service training. Most of the agents were experienced as undercover radicals and had been immersed in the drug culture, smoking dope with their counter-culture targets almost daily for months. Most were veterans of Miami, and the In-Service training was like a reunion. Between lectures on Weatherman, drug abuse, and FBI procedure, the long-haired students would sneak away into the wooded grounds to pass joints and hash pipes.

For six months after the special training, Payne journeyed into the underground, living out of his FBI-purchased and equipped "psychedelic van." He moved through the suspected Weatherman support network in Seattle, Vancouver and Slocan Valley, British Columbia. Ultimately, he located and befriended supporters of the underground—those who helped deserters and draft resisters get into Canada with false identities—but also none of them had Weatherman sympathies. After six months and growing disillusionment, Payne had not located one Weatherman fugitive.

While underground, Payne began having second thoughts about the hunt. "When I figured out that none of my targets posed any real threat to America and the whole operation was basically an exercise in salvaging Bureau pride, I had to get out."

"I wrote the book to help the public understand exactly how abuses occurred in the past so that there will be a call for a meaningful charter strictly defining what is proper or improper Bureau conduct," Payne said to *IN THESE TIMES*. "Without a strong charter, rookie agents are asked to join a game without benefit of the rules."

The FBI has never operated under a written charter. Payne is critical of the Carter administration's proposed charter—whose strongest supporter in the Senate, ironically enough, is Ted Kennedy. The charter is so weak that FBI officials and agents applauded when it was first presented to them, while the ACLU and other groups that originally called for a charter are now lobbying to kill the proposal.

According to Payne, the one current safeguard aimed at exposing and deterring intelligence abuse—the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)—has also become a "joke" in the hands of the FBI. Payne tells how in preparing his book, he tried to acquire his own personnel file through an FOIA request. It took over a year of haggling for him to see any documents, but most files on the Weatherman operation had been destroyed.

"Now Bill Webster, the FBI director, wants the teeth taken out of the FOIA," Payne says. "The Bureau never complied with it anyway—whenever somebody requested an embarrassing document, they classified it 'secret,' and that was that."

"Up until the FOIA, the Bureau didn't destroy anything. We kept everything for years. After the Act passed, every agent had to spend some time on-the-clock reviewing files and shredding them."

Jeff Cohen is the research associate of the Citizens' Commission on Police Repression and a freelance journalist in L.A.

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# Brown

Continued from page 18.  
tired of paying for the poor."

While this enthusiastic middle-class base gave the Brown campaign its appearance of being a movement—even after Brown had officially withdrawn from the race on election night in Milwaukee, hundreds of Madison students lined the Hotel Pfister shouting "Brown in '84"—it was obviously too narrow to make a credible showing in the Democratic primary, let alone to defeat Carter and Kennedy.

Given the power of the incumbency and Kennedy's hold over traditional Democrats, Brown might not have been able to win the nomination, whatever kind of campaign he had run. The question is not why he failed to win, but why he failed to build even the semblance of a political coalition.

On one level, the reason for this lay with the incompatibility of the pro-business right wing's view of the U.S. with Tom Hayden's and the anti-nuclear movement's view. In trying to reconcile

these two views—and the social groups they represent—Brown was trying to square the circle. But on a deeper level, Brown's problem lay in his rejection of Democratic party liberalism.

## Critique of liberalism.

Brown's strength and weakness as a politician always lay in his critique of liberalism. Well before many of his fellow Democrats, Brown sensed that it would be impossible to hold together ethnics, minorities, labor, and business simply through promises of federal largesse. With real wages no longer rising and investment slowing, the employed became increasingly reluctant to be taxed for the sake of the unemployed, and business became increasingly unwilling to accept added costs either from labor or government.

In 1976, Brown articulated this understanding symbolically through his "era of limits" rhetoric; in 1980, he actually tried to present a program to meet what he perceived as the crisis of liberalism. But in doing so, Brown abandoned not only the practices of liberalism—its bankrupt Keynesianism—but also its more positive principles: its commitment to seeking some form of economic justice for the poor, the elderly, and the infirm. Brown's supposed solutions—his "across

the board" spending cuts, his taxbreaks to stockholders—either threatened or ignored the welfare of these two groups. As a result, traditional Democrats correctly perceived Brown to be an enemy.

As a Republican, Brown might have assembled an Anderson-like coalition of moderate Republicans, independents, and maverick Democrats. But as a Democrat, he appeared as a stranger to the party's basic constituencies.

In other words, the real incompatibility in Brown's politics was not between his balanced budget economics and his anti-nuclear stance—after all, Swedish and West German conservatives comfortably hold these positions—but between his conservative economics and the concerns of many Democrats. If Brown has any political future, he will have to integrate their concerns into his larger politics.

# Musical

Continued from page 24.

It's that Bread and Roses pays as much attention to the quality of the art as to the accuracy of the subject matter.

*Take Care's* music and script were written by professionals, veterans of commercial theater and film. The actors—it's an all-Equity cast—have performing credits that include roles in New York productions like *Timbuktu*, *Blues for Mr. Charlie* and *The Fantastiks* and films like *Serpico* and *Going in Style*. Every aspect of production involved theatrical professionals; the costume designer, for instance, also designed costumes for the Broadway production of *For Colored Girls...* and for the Alvin Ailey Dance Theater.

An impressive wealth of proven theatrical talent and experience went into the success of *Take Care*. The result was that workers' experiences are transformed rather than merely repeated.

One of the points the revue brings home is the cultural diversity among people working together. The Hispanic, the black and the white hospital workers are distinct culturally, and so are the college and the high-school educated, and the young and the old. Their differences are caught with a phrase, an inflection, a stance as well as with their different problems and arguments.

The success of the revue as theater does not come free. The production was put together for \$87,000, a low figure

given the credits of those involved. Of that figure, \$35,000 was raised among four unions, while the rest came from grants by NEA, NEH, the New York Community Trust, state arts councils and private foundations. District 1199 supplied, besides cash, liberal amounts of in-kind contributions, starting with the services of Bread and Roses director Moe Foner.

## Benefits.

Artists stand to gain as well as union members from Bread and Roses projects.

"We're creating a new mass audience," said Foner. "Our audience here is largely black and Hispanic women. For talented people Bread and Roses is a link to working people and a way to reach those audiences."

Playwright Abby Tetenbaum, who has worked for years for the Shakespeare Festival with Joe Papp and is company manager for the *Take Care* tour, agrees. "I like the idea of reaching more people with the theater," he said to IN THESE TIMES. "I've always been a union sympathizer, but my access to Bread and Roses was through the arts. Bread and Roses reaches out to people from different groups and it sensitizes people to what others are doing. The arts can do that."

Bread and Roses isn't resting easy, waiting for the praise to roll in for *Take Care*. Already in final stages of preparation to go into hospitals and on the road is another labor musical, *I Paid My Dues*. It's a musical history of American workers, with work songs, spirituals and trade union songs—some serious, some funny—telling the story.

## DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of IN THESE TIMES. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

**CITIZENS ENERGY PROJECT**  
1110 6th Street, NW, #300  
Washington, DC 20001

**THE CITIZENS PARTY-NATIONAL OFFICE**  
525 13th Street, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20004

**THE CITIZENS PARTY OF ILLINOIS**  
743 N. Wabash Ave.  
Chicago, IL 60611  
(312) 280-8623

**COALITION FOR A NEW FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY**  
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.  
Washington, DC 20002

**COIN-CONSUMERS OPPOSED TO INFLATION IN THE NECESSITIES**  
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 413  
Washington, DC 20036

**DSOC-DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE**  
853 Broadway, Room 617  
New York, NY 10003

**MIDWEST ACADEMY**  
600 West Fullerton Ave.  
Chicago, IL 60614

**NATIONAL CENTER FOR ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES**  
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 200  
Washington, DC 20036

**NAM-NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT**  
3244 N. Clark St.  
Chicago, IL 60657

**NEW PATRIOT ALLIANCE**  
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305  
Chicago, IL 60604

**SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.**  
Suite 325  
135 W. Wells Street  
Milwaukee, WI 53203

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By Pat Aufderheide

You may have caught the program, probably by accident, on your public TV channel. Perhaps it wasn't aired at the time the originating station, WNET, aired it. And you may have been surprised to see its point of view on the air.

The show was *Deadly Force*, an independently produced documentary aired at the beginning of April, which questions the Los Angeles Police Department's use of "deadly force" that resulted in the death of a naked man on a public street.

It was the first in a series of independent documentaries, several of them gutsy social criticisms, fostered into existence by New York public TV's TV Lab and aired in a program called Non Fiction Television.

TV Lab, now a nine-year veteran of documentary filmmaking, attempts to provide independent filmmakers with institutional clout, while preserving their point of view. The series presents finished products from a project that gives sizeable annual production grants to independents and provides technical advice.

Non Fiction Television began in 1978, under the direction of TV Lab director David Loxton (a filmmaker in his own right; recently he co-produced *Lothe of Heaven*) and with Katherine Kline as coordinating producer for the series. Funding originally came from the National Endowment for the Arts and the Ford Foundation, the duo that had already tasted video success with *Visions*, the original dramatic series.

The series went on the air for the first time last year, and the first program was a winner. *Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang* (see *ITT*, Apr. 16) won the only Emmy PBS collected last year.

Loxton and Kline view documentary films as a way to express diversity, not only of opinion but of style.

"TV should be mass distributed but not mass oriented," Kline told *IN THESE TIMES*, "to let people appreciate that everything on TV is the expression of someone. TV should never pretend to be inclusive.

"There's a parallel between the documentaries we want to encourage and New Journalism. In many ways that's what we're doing to TV. The trick is to find the talented person who speaks with passion and can touch others with his interest."

This view of documentary is one the veteran American TV critic, Michael Arlen, celebrated in a recent *New Yorker* article. He contrasted the origins of American documentary with current network productions, all marketing what he called "Artificial Realism," or the making-over of real-life subjects into a fiction and entertainment, show-business mold.

"Commercial and political factors already built into the network system," he wrote, "have so curtailed the role of passion and personality in communicating reality information as to render most network documentaries intrinsically no more communicative—and no less alienating—than lectures from a distant and and uninvolved authority.

"The chief cause for optimism," he found, "lies in the tenacity and the growing skills of the young nonfiction filmmakers." The ones he chose were primarily ones who had worked with TV Lab, especially in the Non Fiction Television series.

# ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## PUBLIC TV



DEADLY FORCE puts the Los Angeles Police Department under close scrutiny.

## These movies give us the drama of real life

One needed no better proof of Arlen's point than the recent much-heralded *60 Minutes* segment on Afghanistan. The swamp of international affairs issues that is Afghanistan at this point was neatly reduced to two dramatic formats: a Hardy Boy Sneaks Behind the Lines, and a more religious tale, The Slaughter of the Innocents.

Dan Rather, American iconoclast, dressed up as an Afghani to sneak into Afghani guerrilla territory. (What did they dress up the video equipment as?) He interviewed grizzled guerrillas, fighting nobly with WWI mortars, who begged the U.S. for guns and money. When Rather said we didn't want our boys to die in Afghanistan, they reassured him that they only wanted the guns and money, and that they were holding the line of freedom against communism for us.

Rather introduced us to the one Afghani leader who doesn't want our money. Rather called him the Afghani Khomeini (want another one of those?).

Then he went on to Pakistani refugee camps, where many crippled, wounded and orphaned individuals demonstrated their pain. (No messy discussions of factions or of foreign intelligence agencies' investment in military assaults on Afghanistan from Pakistan.)

Did we see one man's honest view of a troublespot today? No. We saw a dramatic episode, built on lies. The lies start with the one that says the newsmen are iconoclastic. Lie Number Two: These are the Afghanis we needed to talk to—because they represent Afghani opinion. Lie Number Three: The primary issue, which we can and should redress with guns and money, is

whether people are suffering, not what programs any freedom fighters may support and whether their programs might also involve suffering.

What Loxton and Kline are trying to do, by contrast, can be seen as an exercise in first amendment rights on the air. They are as much concerned with style as with the quantity of air time given to noncorporate voices. The world in which they insert this little project is largely closed, not only in terms of funds for production, but also in terms of the amount of variation in tone permitted from an either cool or colloquially genial presentation.

### Hardhitting program.

This second year, 11 programs are being presented. Several have a hardhitting edge of social criticism, and all are unlikely to look or sound familiar.

*On Company Business*, to be shown in three one-hour segments in May, takes a long look at the history and activities of the CIA. *Taking Back Detroit*, coming in June, follows three Detroit leftists in positions of authority, Justin Ravitz, Ken Cockrel and Sheila Murphy, as they attempt a socially progressive urban planning. The final program, *Taylor Chain*, follows the history of a strike in an Indiana chain factory, and traces the conflict between the local union and its international representative.

Other programs deal with subjects like *No Maps on My Taps*, coming April 25, about three black jazz tap dancers and an art that was almost lost; and *America Lost and Found*, about America as an idea seen through images and other cultural forms over the last 50 years.

How do these 11 films get chosen, in a world where hundreds of independent filmmakers scramble over every grant dollar, and important issues proliferate like cancer stories? The decision-making process depends heavily on peer review. The process begins with proposals circulated to around two dozen pairs of people around the country. (Kline tries to pair filmmakers with film programmers or administrators, to foster networking.) Then an advisory panel of six people narrow their choices according to funds available.

A key part of the Non Fiction Television project is the follow-through once grants are made. Loxton and Kline raise funds to complete films that have recieved

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ed their grants, and they also offer criticism and commentary on rough cuts before the documentary is aired for a national audience.

The elaborately distributed decision-making process doesn't guarantee consensus. Los Angeles filmmaker Jesus Trevino told *IN THESE TIMES* that the Chicano Cinema Coalition had to pressure TV Lab into acknowledging the importance of Hispanic documentary.

At a time when Hispanics were producing significant documentaries, Non Fiction Television had appointed no Hispanics to any decision-making positions, nor were any grants given to Hispanics in the project's first year. So the Coalition met with Loxton and Kline, and sent names of appropriate people to appoint to committees. Two years later, a Hispanic representative sits on the advisory panel.

Kline agreed that "we made a major oversight. When people pointed out our failings, we moved," she said. "It's only too bad that the fact the panels are only appointed annually meant that it took until the next year to act. Maybe our consciences needed to be raised."

TV Lab garners the respect of most independent filmmakers, even among people who have been turned down for a grant. That doesn't guarantee TV Lab an unchallenged hold over documentary format on public TV, though. Most PBS documentaries have more similarities to corporate "news" than to these sometimes rough but always personal and pointed documentaries.

Further, another WNET branch also shares an interest in non-corporate independent documentary: the acquisition series *Independent Focus*. Usually the series is complementary in style to Non Fiction Television—it has tended toward more experimental film. But the disorganization and confusion this year over the use and abuse of the *Independent Focus* peer review panel (see *ITT*, Feb. 6) could discredit by association the kind of process that with TV Lab has worked well.

Look for the latest Non Fiction Television documentary, Friday evenings. And if someone moved the program to a different time, call in and holler. More consistent national air-times on public TV means more chances at more effective national advertising and correct TV Guide listings, which means better chances at seeing an occasional counterpoint to the fiction they call facts.

## CULTURE SHOCK

### DON'T BE A LITTERBUG

Clean-up crews at Yosemite National Park have discovered, among other things, the following items: six human skeletons, 487 pairs of glasses, five cassette tape recorders, two TV sets, 4,028 lipstick dispensers, a bathtub, a telephone, two church pews and eight full-



sized flags, including one of Lithuania.

### WONDERS OF TECHNOLOGY AGAIN

The Minolta corporation is developing a pocket copier the size of a fountain pen, reports Zodiac News Service. It will allow business executives to make copies of documents anywhere.

### SCIENCE AT WORK

A Brooklyn psychiatrist has completed a study that shows hot dog eaters to be ex-

troverts, while hamburger eaters are more conservative and withdrawn. The study was funded by a fast-food chain.

### IF YOU ARE WHAT YOU EAT...

Ronald Reagan's favorite food is macaroni and cheese, with carrot cake his favorite dessert.



Tom Greenfelder





Above, Robert Taylor names three writers as communists to HUAC, adding immediately, "Of course, I wouldn't know them personally." Below, a deputy sheriff swings at a Hollywood striker during a 1946 union battle. Center, PHOTOPLAY magazine "cleared" liberal Douglas with its coverage during the McCarthy era.

## BOOKS

# Definitive history of Hollywood politics

By Alvah Bessie

### THE INQUISITION IN HOLLYWOOD

By Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund  
Anchor, \$17.50

Thirty years after HUAC's "investigation" of the motion-picture industry and the incarceration of the Hollywood 10 (1950), their case has finally been recognized for what it was: a frontal attack on thought-control in the U.S. A case that was "lost," it initiated the so-called McCarthy Era.

Following The 10, hundreds of workers in film, theater, radio and TV, in education and medicine, on newspapers and magazines, in federal, state and local administrations followed them into blacklist, ostracism and unemployment, although they escaped prison terms by invoking the Fifth Amendment instead of the First.

The First was the considered choice of The 10—or rather the 19 motion picture writers, directors, producers and actors who received the original subpoenas in 1947. They and their attorneys decided that the correct way to attack the House Committee on Un-American Activities was to strike at its right to exist at all.

If Congress, they argued, can make no law about opinion or association, neither can it inves-

tigate those areas. Their position was supported by the Supreme Court itself in a notable decision: *West Virginia State Board of Education vs. Barnette* (1943).

In ringing language upholding the First Amendment as a shield against any attempt by the state to force a citizen to declare his "loyalty" or punish him for remaining silent, Justice Jackson's majority opinion seemed to have "destroyed the whole super-patriotic cabal...including the proponents of the House Un-American Activities Committee." (Charles Katz, one of the lawyers for The 10.)

The very same Justice Jackson was still on the high court and concurred with his colleagues when they refused in 1950 to grant a hearing to the case of The 10.

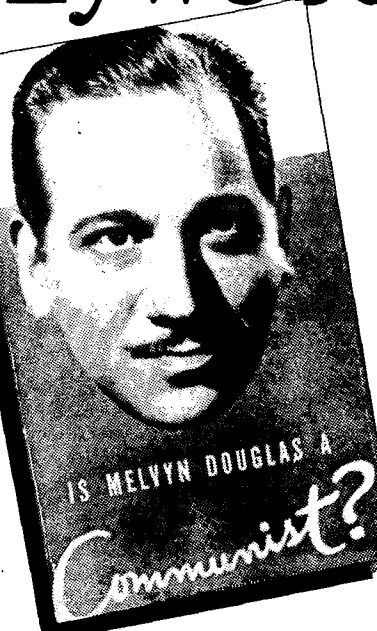
What had happened between 1942 and 1950? The Cold War, carried in the womb of World War II, was born and flourished mightily. Our glorious ally, the USSR, became our enemy; our enemies—Germany, Italy and Japan—became our client states and shortly our allies. And—irony of fate—two liberal justices—Murphy and Rutledge—who would most certainly have voted for *certiorari*—died within two months of each other in 1949.

Yet the 1947-1950 fight of The 10 was a major factor in giving the quietus to HUAC and its Senate counterpart in 1975.

### The case of The 10 had its origins in movie union organizing during the Depression.

There have been a handful of books devoted to the case, or touching on it. The late Gordon Kahn, one of the original 19, was a journalist who practically wrote *Hollywood on Trial* (1948) as the 1947 hearings were in process. There are three smart-ass books: Walter Goodman's *The Committee* (1969), Eric Bentley's shameless pastiche of HUAC testimony called *Thirty Years of Treason* (1971) and Stefan Kanfer's *A Journal of the Plague Years* (1973) which share a common point of view: The Committee was disgusting but so were those who fought it. Serious books like Cedric Belfrage's *The American Inquisition* (1973) and my *Inquisition in Eden* (1965) achieved no circulation at all.

But this new book by Larry



Ceplair and Steven Englund is the most ambitious and the most successful to date. It is a definitive study of the case and the period that gave it birth, and the story will probably not have to be told again.

Both young writers have benefited by training in sociology and history. There is scarcely a detail of the elaborate and complicated scene from 1930 to 1960 that has escaped their meticulous and exhaustive attention and their solid analysis.

Their examination of the subject is based soundly in an understanding of the political history of World War II, both abroad and at home. They start even earlier, in the Depression that created labor and radical militancy in our country. That period also saw the development of the first American "Popular Front," which was almost destroyed by the original Dies Committee and its unremitting attack on the reforms of Roosevelt's four administrations.

The case of The Hollywood 10, Englund and Ceplair make plain, was something more than a successful attempt to control the content of film and dictate who could and who could not work in the industry. It was a flanking attack on the American people and it sparked a nationwide assault on progressive ideas and organizations.

We have not yet recovered from the McCarthy period, which could be repeated any time. Peanut Carter and those who run him decide that they will brook no opposition to their endless maximization of profits and their drive toward World War III.

The Ceplair-Englund book is

therefore crucial to our time. It has already created resentment in certain literary and industrial circles, notably in Hollywood, because it puts the finger on who, what, when, where and why. It displays uncommon objectivity that can both praise the role of the Communist Party during that period, and point out the errors of judgement committed by Communists, The 10 and the liberal organizations that supported them.

### Live free or...

If it misses a point, it cannot be faulted for that fact. The decision in *West Virginia etc. vs. Barnette* on which The 10 had relied, had been brought by parents who belonged to Jehovah's Witnesses and had told their young son not to salute the flag because it was a "graven image."

In New Hampshire a few years ago another member of that contentious sect was arrested for covering the state slogan on his car licenseplate: "Live Free or Die." He didn't object to the slogan, but saw no reason to advertise New Hampshire on his car.

He took his case to the Supreme Court, which in April 1977 handed down its decision, written by Nixon's Chief Justice Burger. He said that the First Amendment "includes the right to speak freely and the right to refrain from speaking at all... [both are] complementary components of the broader concept of 'individual freedom of mind'."

This decision made a two-paragraph item in some newspapers but the ever-alert Carey McWilliams, writing in *The Nation* (July 23, 1977) said: "That, of course, was precisely the contention of the Hollywood 10...now, nearly three decades later, a majority of the Court has confirmed their contention... The experience suggests that New Hampshire's motto...should, in pragmatic terms, be interpreted to mean 'live free or somehow manage to survive until the Supreme Court, in the fullness of time, changes its mind.'"

Perhaps Ceplair and Englund will add this victory as a footnote in the next edition of their invaluable book.

Alvah Bessie was one of the Hollywood 10.





## BOOKS

# Brecht's collected poems 'sing' about the dark times

By Joel Schechter

**Bertolt Brecht: Poems 1913-1936**  
Edited by John Willett and  
Ralph Manheim  
Methuen, \$12.50

In one poem addressed to posterity, Bertolt Brecht asked readers not to judge him too harshly. American readers could hardly have judged Brecht's poems at all until recently. The newly translated collection includes several hundred pages of his verse not previously available in English. A large proportion of the verse was not even published in German prior to Brecht's death in 1936.

The renowned playwright rarely referred to himself as a poet, as far as we know. Evidently he regarded the lyric form as less socially effective than the dramatic, and he neglected or declined to publish many of his poems. Also, Brecht preferred spoken and sung poems to written ones. In his youth he sang his ballads to friends, and some of his most popular lyrics, such as "Mack the Knife," were composed for theater performances.

The poems collected in this new volume document Brecht's development as a writer and a political commentator. His early work often seems inspired more by literature than life. It recounts legends of pirates, American prizefighters, lurid murders of

the type tabloid newspapers still headline.

Later, when Brecht experienced war, Nazi terror and its victims, he began to write with far more immediacy, compassion and wit about himself and his country. As political events worsened, and "the dark times" of Hitler's reign arrived, Brecht's writing against injustice became more pronounced. "In the dark times will there be singing?" he asks in one poem, and answers: "Yes, there will be singing about the dark times."

Singing or writing became a political act, even a crime, in Nazi Germany, as Brecht notes with grim humor in one of his satires, "The Burning of the Books":

...a banished  
Writer, one of the best, scanning  
the list of the  
Burned, was shocked to find  
that his  
Books had been passed over. He  
rushed to his desk  
On wings of wrath, and wrote  
a letter to those in power.  
Burn me! he wrote with flying  
pen, burn me! Haven't my  
books  
Always reported the truth?  
And here you are  
Treating me like a liar? I command  
you:

Burn me!  
Brecht's own writing was banned in Germany until 1945, which accounts in part for his delayed



Bertolt Brecht

*Some satiric  
parable poems  
mock Hollywood,  
where Brecht  
worked in exile.*

recognition as a poet. Famous in earlier decades, during the Nazi years he had to suffer obscurity and exile, including six years in Santa Monica, Calif., where he failed to sell screenplays and published little writing of any sort. Although more or less silenced in exile by anonymity and an inability to write in English, Brecht privately continued to construct plays and poems that embody, preserve and celebrate the leftist opposition Hitler, and later HUAC, sought to suppress.

During his years in exile, Brecht was especially adept as a

satirist. He had written satire as a young man, publishing a parodic hymnal that devoutly praises sensuality, lassitude, bad teeth and other anathema of the middle class.

Poems in his later years frequently take the form of satiric parables mocking the "house-painter" Hitler and the paradise called Hollywood. Of his life in American film industry, Brecht cynically notes:

*Everyday, to earn my daily  
bread,  
I go to the market where lies are  
bought.  
Hopefully,  
I take up my place among the  
sellers.*

When he left America and HUAC behind him in 1947, Brecht settled in reconstructed East Germany. His relatively peaceful life there is reflected in the pastoral "Buckow Elegies." Even amid the silver poplars and wild blackberries of Buckow, he found occasion to criticize those in power, as his poem on the June 17th uprising in East Berlin attests. Government officials claimed that the people had "forfeited the confidence of the government" on June 17 and could win it back only by redoubled efforts. Brecht asks with mock naivete whether it would not be easier for the government to "dissolve the people and elect another." He did not publish this poem immediately after writing it.

### Poet and the world.

It is tempting to regard Brecht's collected poems as his autobiography. Some stanzas, especially the love sonnets, are among the most intimate and confessional of his publications. But as Brecht said about one of his books in 1951, "Maybe the

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poems in question describe me, but that was not what they were written for. It's not a matter of 'getting acquainted with the poet' but of getting acquainted with the world, and with the people in whose company he is trying to enjoy it and alter it."

The Willett and Manheim collection reveals Brecht's world to have been surprisingly large and varied. He wrote special poems for children, for actors, for trees and for numerous women friends. Many of these poems are appearing in English for the first time. Regrettably, the new volume omits all of Brecht's theater songs (which have been published elsewhere), and some of its new translations are less dexterous than those published by H.R. Hays in 1947. These faults are fully compensated by the sizable new collection's very existence, which confirms Brecht as one of our century's greatest and most prolific politically engaged poets.

It will be unfortunate if the new collection is received only as a text for Brecht scholars or a document of political engagement; it is also a source of immense reading pleasure, replete with lyric tenderness, beauty, dialectics, and the subversive humor of poems with titles like "Words the Leaders Cannot Bear to Hear."

Brecht often wrote about what his countrymen would not or could not hear, a tendency that might allow one to call him a prophet. But he was probably too modest to accept such praise. As he said in the poem addressed to posterity: "There was little I could do. But those in power/Sat safer without me: that was my hope."

Joel Schechter teaches at the Yale School of Drama.

## CLASSIFIED

### PUBLICATIONS

KAMPUCHEA, SELF DETERMINATION and the "BOAT PEOPLE": THE CHALLENGE for SOCIALISM, by Proletarian Unity League, \$1.75. Orders: United Labor Press, P.O. Box 1744, Manhassetville Station, NY, NY 10027.

CURIOUS ABOUT MIDWEST POPULISM? Send \$7.50 for THIRD PARTY FOOTPRINTS, J. Youngdale, Ed. (357 pages). Introduction essay, illustrations and selections from LaFollette, Sr., Floyd Olsen, I. Donnelly, Victor Berger, E. Benson and others. Write: Books, 157 Williams Ave., SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

SOUTHERN PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY. New comprehensive guide to southern Safe energy, peace, black and other alternative periodicals. Individual copies \$1.50; libraries \$3.00. Progressive Education, Box 120574, Nashville, TN 37212.

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mation and Resource Service, 1536 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036. Sample copy free upon request.

ISRAELI NEWS SERVICE is a bi-weekly bulletin providing news originating in Israel which is either ignored, buried or minimized by official and non-official media of the Israeli establishment. It also constitutes a counter source of reliable information on the activities and thinking of left-opposition and peace forces in Israel. Write for a free sample to Israleft, Box 9013, Jerusalem, Israel.

### HELP WANTED

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### ORGANIZATIONS

CORPUS—National Association Resigned/Married Priests: Box 2649, Chicago 60690.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF MASSACHUSETTS, P.O. Box 774, Cambridge, MA 02139, (617) 661-1143.

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### EVENTS

WRITERS AND POETS, a 13-day workshop in Santa Cruz, CA, June 22-July 5, 1980. Speakers: Tillie Olsen and Alice Walker. Scholarships available. Information: Women's Voices, Box 1, c/o Marcy Alancraig, Coordinator, 1153 Camelia St., Berkeley, CA 94702.

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## BREAD & ROSES

Patient: Hospital Workers  
 Rx: Music, Song, + Dance  
 Dosage: Once at lunch

By Pat Aufderheide

**T**HE NURSE IS FULL OF STORIES about the doctor who got away. The therapist just blew her spending money on the numbers, as the admitting clerk reminds her when she criticizes the clerk for her large clothing bills.

The aging male med tech, oblivious to everyone else's sandwich, mulls over the morning's sputum specimens, until the women shout him down.

Lunch time at the hospital?

Yes. But these aren't hospital workers. They're professional actors, and they're in the middle of a 45-minute musical revue in which the tension of daily hospital work is turned into jokes, sallies, poignant ballads, skits and one last wonderful chorus. They're bringing the revue to hospital workers on their lunch break.

It's a play called *Take Care*, another cultural project from the Bread and Roses people. This is the program of NY District 1199 of Hospital and Health Care Employees union that has pioneered cultural events and projects for its members. The list of Bread and Roses' success is already 40 projects long. That's pretty impressive for a program that, despite its decades-long roots, is in this incarnation little more than a year old and dependent on patchwork funding.

Bread and Roses has produced and co-produced books, posters, filmstrips and videotapes. It sponsors events. The

The nurse recounts how a doctor made her the "fall guy" with a complaining patient.



union has brought Harry Belafonte to the Lincoln Center twice for the membership. Upcoming is a "Bread and Roses Day" to celebrate the victory of the Lawrence strike in Lawrence, Mass. And workshops and seminars on labor history allow members to learn about the past and also express the frustrations and tensions of the present style of work.

Bread and Roses has sponsored exhibitions of photography and painting in 1199's gallery. Earl Dotter's photographs of textile and coal mining—later made into a portfolio, *In Mine and Mill*—were shown there. So was the photographic work of Georgeen Comeford on hospital workers, called "1199: A Family Portrait." An exhibition of paintings called *The Working American* showed how artists have portrayed work in different eras.

### Drawn from life.

*Take Care* is an excellent example of 1199 cultural programming. The revue, composed of five players and a three-man band, is elegant and honest. It's hard not to go out humming one of the tunes, especially from the final chorus, "Looking Good." ("Looking good" is the obligatory phrase to patients, no matter how they look.) It's drawn from real life, accessible during work hours to the people it portrays, and the process of making it was as important as is the result.

Moe Foner, director of the Bread and Roses program had the idea for the revue. He suggested a professional production to Ossie Davis, who's been associated with 1199 for 25 years. Writers Eve Merriam (*Inner City, The Club*), Micki Grant (*Don't Bother Me, I Can't Cope, Working*), Lewis Cole (*A Loose Game*) and Helen Miller (*Inner City*) got interested too.

"Eve suggested that we should hold workshops for the members on their work experience, and use that material for the revue," said Foner to *IN THESE TIMES*. "So we set up workshops with different kinds of hospital workers, and the material was just incredibly rich. The writers wrote from that."

"*Take Care* is like a mirror. Everything in it is out of the workshop."

The workshop itself was a sizeable project. Members submitted diaries and photographs. The sessions were videotaped.

"At first people tended to present rosy pictures of their lives," said Lewis Cole, who led the workshops. "By and large workshop members were immensely proud of their work, and they didn't want to say anything that would reflect badly on themselves. But increasingly they trusted one another's judgement and they revealed their thoughts, feelings and experiences. Sometimes they gave a fuller picture of themselves than they meant to."

The revue was supposed to tour New York hospitals for four or five weeks. But word spread fast, and the tour was extended. Then people in the Labor Department in Washington wanted to see the show too, and then unions in other cities put in their bid to bring the tour on the road. Now not only has the revue been touring for 12 weeks, but an original cast album has been made, and public TV is talking about airing a videotape of the show.

Audiences, both workers and patients, are delighted to find themselves represented so expertly, with wit and poignancy.

"It's like seeing a Broadway play for free," said one clerk typist.

"This lets us see ourselves, and that is a rare treat," said a nurses' aide. "Normally only doctors and nurses are considered fitting subjects for TV and musicals about hospital life."

Actor Clyde Williams finds audience response exhilarating. He plays a night worker who chooses that shift because he can't sleep after several live-in horror years as a Vietnam paramedic.

"I've had people come up afterwards and say, 'Thank you, now I can finish the day's work on the ward.'"

### Professionals.

*Take Care* works, not just because hospital workers can see themselves on stage.

Continued on page 20.